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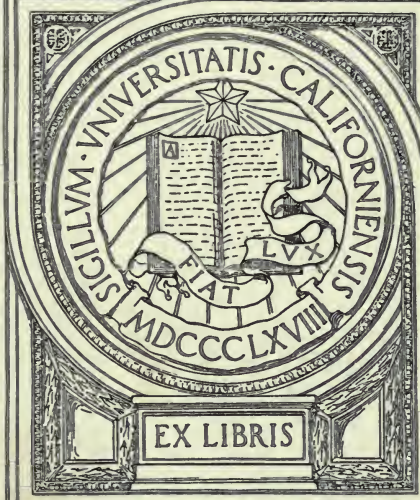

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*To the Master & Fellows of Pembroke College, Cambridge*

This Portrait of

JOHN BRADFORD,

*taken by permission from a Painting in their possession*

*is respectfully inscribed, by*

*their grateful & obedient Servt*

*THE EDITOR.*

Martyrological Biography.

George White
1833

# MEMOIRS

from the Editor

OF THE

# LIFE AND MARTYRDOM

OF

# JOHN BRADFORD, M.A.

Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge;

WITH

*HIS EXAMINATIONS, LETTERS, &c.*

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

---

TOGETHER WITH

## A Translation of

BISHOP GARDINER'S BOOK, "*DE VERA OBEDIENTIA*," AND BONNER'S "*PREFATORY LETTER*;"

BOTH IN DEFENCE OF THE SUPREMACY AND OF THE DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII.

---

"Ea sunt vetustissima Ecclesiæ martyria, quorum lectione piorum animus ita afficitur, ut nunquam satur inde recedat. Quod quidem ita esse, unusquisque pro suo et conscientiæ modo sentire potest. Certè ego nihil unquam in Historia Ecclesiastica vidi, a cujus lectione commotior recedam, ut non amplius meus esse videar."—JOS. SCALIGER.

---

BY WILLIAM STEVENS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. FENN, HOMER'S HEAD, CHARING CROSS;
AND T. STEVENSON, CAMBRIDGE.

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GIFT OF

PROFESSOR C. A. KOFOID

CROYDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM ANNAN, HIGH STREET.

" He was a man of great learning, elocution, sweetness of temper, and profound devotion towards God."—*Strype Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* i. 363.

" He was a most pious christian, and is said to have done as much service to the reformation by his letters from prison, as by his preaching in the pulpit."—*Neale Pur.* i. 85.

" In these letters shine forth such a spirit of inflexible constancy in his principles; such a primitive and apostolic zeal for the propagation of truth; such a sincere abhorrence of the gross, mercenary, and presumptuous delusions of the Church of Rome; that it is as little wonder they have been so carefully transmitted to us, by the friends and favourers of the reformation, as that the enemies to it should cut off, as soon as they could, the increase of them."—*Biog. Brit. vol.* ii. 547.

M217024

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND,

## THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

---

My Lord,

From the nature of some of the remarks contained in the Notes and Appendix to the following work, you will perhaps be surprised that I should address it to a prelate of the Church of England.—I certainly had no thoughts of doing so originally; but happening to be at Hampton on the day when you consecrated the new church in that village, I had the gratification to hear the sermon you preached upon that occasion—a sermon, my Lord, well calculated to promote the interests of your own Church, without attacking or impugning the views of persons of other denominations, if any such were there.

It was, moreover, a faithful christian appeal and exhortation, and was evidently delivered by one who, himself above the fear of man, felt alike the importance of his message, and his own responsibility.

The entire absence of sectarianism however, my Lord, and that judicious propriety which, whilst you carefully observed the rites and ceremonies of your own communion; abstained alike from unduly exalting that communion, or holding up others to reproach or contempt—a practice so usual with members of hierarchies—has chiefly induced me thus to address you.

But for what purpose? Not, my Lord, as as enemy to the Established Church, for I am one of her unworthy sons; but to draw your attention to some particular considerations, which have long weighed upon my mind, and which are not the offspring of any of those extraordinary movements, which characterize the present æra.

Thirty years ago, my Lord, I wrote and published, that the state of the National Church was such, that she could not go on much longer, unless effectual remedies were applied to various abuses and practices, which crushed her to the ground. Since that period, she has, in many respects, assumed a more decent and more respectable exterior—but have the abuses been rectified?

Whether the reformation in England has ever proceeded so far as the father of the

English Church, Archbishop Cranmer, originally intended; or whether abuses have arisen from the natural tendency to degenerate, which is innate to every thing human; or from the connection of the hierarchy with the politics of the state; it is manifest that such abuses exist; and he alone is a true and sincere friend to the national hierarchy, who will faithfully point out, and steadily pursue every legitimate and proper means, to relieve her from their weight and incubus.

I know well enough, my Lord, that those who wrap themselves up in the delusive security of quietism, will readily denounce me as an enemy to the hierarchy; but, my Lord, such characters are her real, and if not her only enemies, at least, those only who are to be dreaded. What, my Lord, is the kind friend or conscientious physician, who is anxious to administer a wholesome and sanatory medicine, in order to rebuke a disease which is consuming the vitals, to be repudiated and reproached; whilst some base and interested flatterer, who encourages the dying but unconscious patient to refuse all medicine, and thus allows the disease to become incurable, to be hailed as the only real friend! Such, my Lord, are some, I might

say almost all, the public writers of the present day; and I hesitate not to assert, that there is no more pestilent doctrine afloat, or one more calculated to overturn, and propel all our institutions to their ruin, than that one opinion.

There is, my Lord, one melancholy feature in the present times—one which has struck me more forcibly, and with more painful apprehensions, than almost all the rest; because inasmuch as one can hardly anticipate, how it can be removed by any human means, it almost leads to the conclusion described by the epigrammatist,—"Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat."

The awful feature to which I allude is the present state of parties in this country; that is, that whilst there may be good reasons to fear one great party in the state, which appears anxious to redress public grievances, and promote liberal and enlightened views of policy, is not very anxious to promote the cause of religious truth; and whilst it is at least equally clear that another great party in the state, which makes an *outward profession* of being greatly alarmed, lest religion, at least what they mean by religion, viz. the national hierarchy, should be injured,—

opposes itself, totis viribus, to every attempt for removing abuses either in church or state; yet that both these parties, as it were by common consent, unite in despising, reproaching, and vilifying a third party, in which alone, any thing like true religion is to be found. And I mean not, my Lord, by that third party, any particular denomination, or fanciful creed or doctrine; but generally all truly conscientious persons of all the orthodox denominations, who, in their lives, conduct, and conversation, shew plainly that with them at least, the religion of our Divine Saviour, is something more than a *system*, something beyond a *machine* of *state*.

I do not think I need say more to your Lordship. I feel assured that the preceding remark is so obvious, as to require only to be noticed to be most manifest.

Far indeed, my Lord, is it from my intention, to go into particulars in this letter; but to shew that it does not necessarily follow that any person who alleges there are abuses in the hierarchy, and is anxious to remedy them, must be either her open or secret enemy; and also to shew that I have used no exaggeration, I will draw your Lordship's attention to the remarks of one, than

whom the Church of England, never had a more zealous friend, or more affectionate son.*

"I will assure the reader, there is a great deal of cant in the world, beside that of fanaticism and affected devotion. Impiety can *act the hypocrite* upon occasion, and magnify *moral virtue*, when it is set in opposition to the *Love of God*."—"Deists, infidels, and moral philosophers, are glad to hear of a *rule of morality* which will serve as *a substitute* for the *christian life*, and all the forms of church devotion. Here also we find those christians, who live in the *habitual neglect* of the means of grace. I have heard people who *never* were *at the altar*, and perhaps *never intended it*, comforting themselves with this consideration, that they never did any *harm* to any body; when they should rather have asked themselves what *good* they ever did to themselves, or to any body else, for the Love of God?—without which, *all the virtues* of man *are nothing;* and if he *places any dependance* upon them, they are *worse than nothing*."—"Simple morality is not christianity."—"Great things have been attributed of late times, to *moral*

* The late Rev. Wm. Jones, of Nayland.

*preaching;* but there is no such thing as telling people what they are to *do*, without telling them what they are to *believe;* because the *christian morality* is built upon the christian *faith*, and is totally different from the *morality* of *heathens*."—"To recommend *moral duties*, on the ground of *natural religion*, is to *preach Deism* from a pulpit; and we should ask ourselves, whether God, who upholds his Church to declare *salvation by Jesus Christ alone*, will *preserve a Church* when it has *left the Gospel*, and holds forth the *light of Deism* in the candlestick which *was made*, and is *supported in the world, only* to hold forth the *light of christianity?*"—"I would not, *for the whole world*, and *all the kingdoms of it*, be *in doubt*, whether I was translated or not, into the kingdom of Jesus Christ."—"To any *particular* or *national Church*, all temporal allowances are but *momentary considerations*, which pass away with the fashion of this world; and the Church may be either *with* them or *without* them, as it was *in the first ages*."—"If we look at *our own Church*, we have but a *melancholy prospect*, and cannot help observing, that it approaches *too near* to the state of the Jewish Church *before its destruction*. As *they* had *corrupted* the

doctrines of Moses and the prophets, and *in consequence* of it were *divided into sects*, (for as *truth unites*, *error* always *disunites* men); so have *we corrupted* the *doctrines of the Gospel*, and are *miserably divided in consequence* of it."—"The *venality* and *avarice* of the Jews of our Saviour's time, were notorious, and provoked his indignation. Their temple, filled with buyers and sellers, was turned into a den of thieves: and, God knows, there is *too much* of a *worldly traffick* amongst us, which is *too far gone to be reformed*, and *too bold* to be *censured*.—VENDUNTUR OMNIA."

Neither, my Lord, imagine that the pious dissenters are inimical to the hierarchy. Amongst their various bodies, there are, as in all bodies, men of bad spirits and of ambitious principles; but not so the great mass of them; let the Church of England become what Archbishop Usher, and Bishop Hall, would have had her, and Archbishop Cranmer intended her, to be; let her become what she ought to be; and all the truly pious and orthodox dissenters in the kingdom will rejoice in her; and acknowledge her, if not as their venerable parent, at least, as their elder sister; and will gladly unite with and support her in every good word and work.

But we are afraid of popery and infidelity, and not without reason. Shall we be best able to oppose them when united or when divided? I venture to request your Lordship to peruse the address to the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE, appended to the following work. —That society I sometime since attempted to establish, and which I still hope one day to accomplish; and I verily believe, if conducted upon right principles, it would do more to stem the torrent of error, of all sorts, in this country, than any other measure. If in that respect I err, I have the satisfaction to know I err in the company of some of the best and most excellent men that have ever lived; and perhaps an ample justification of every opinion, I have suggested, would be found by bringing the great majority of ecclesiastical preferments, during the last century, to the following test of Bishop Ridley. For as Blackstone has well expressed it, "the best way to exhibit the irregularities of a crooked line, is to place a straight one close by its side."

"Alas, Sir, this is a heavy hearing. When papists were taught, there was nothing too little* for the teachers. When the Bishop gave his benefices unto idiots, unlearned, ungodly, *for kindred, for pleasure, for services,*

* That is, there was always plenty for them.

and *other worldly respects*, all was then well allowed. Now where a poor living is to be given to an excellent clerk, a man known and tried to have both discretion and also virtue,—and such a one, as before God, I do not know a man yet unplaced and unprovided for, more meet to set forth God's Word in all England,—when a poor living, I say, which is founded for a preacher, is to be given unto such a man, that then an ungodly person shall procure in this sort letters to stop and let the same, alas, M. Cheke, this seemeth unto me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the Gospel? Speak M. Cheke, speak for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do any good withal. And if you will not speak, then I beseech you, let these my letters speak unto M. Gates, to M. Wroth,* to M. Cecil, whom I all do take for men that do fear God."†

I have the honour to remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

The Editor.

*London*, 1831.

---

* Most probably Lord Wriothesly, whom Bishop Burnet however, says was the chief support of the Popish Party.—Reform. ii. 27.

† See letter to Sir John Cheke, soliciting a prebend for Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.—Cov. 684.

# PREFACE.

THE publication of the following pages was occasioned by the deep impression made upon the mind of the Editor, some few years since, by the perusal of Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, a book which he had till then never seen; and although he was generally acquainted with Fox's Acts and Monuments, he had not read the letters in that work, or, at least, having been read in earlier life, they had not produced the same feelings.

Persuaded that a more general acquaintance with these letters, exemplifying the doctrines and principles of the reformation in England, was calculated to promote the cause of religious truth, he conceived the idea of republishing Coverdale's work; but finding upon examination, that there were many letters in Fox, which were omitted by Coverdale, and vice-versâ, it appeared the most useful plan to publish a new work embracing both, and to intersperse the letters according to their dates, with Fox's Narrative.

But to pursue this plan as to the whole of the martyrs at once, would have been too formidable an undertaking in

respect of paper and printing; and therefore the Editor was compelled to select the life and letters, of such one of the venerable martyrs, as appeared to afford the most comprehensive view of the controversies of that day, and the greatest probability of general usefulness.

Cranmer or Ridley would probably have been selected, but the life of the latter having been lately re-published by Dr. Wordsworth, and the whole works of Cranmer being in a state of preparation for publication at Oxford; the choice almost naturally fell upon Bradford, as best calculated to answer the above expressed objects of the Editor; who can truly say, that if the following pages shall afford to any of his readers, as he has no doubt they will to many, the same gratification, which the preparing of them for the press has to himself, his purpose will be fully answered, although he should lose by the publication.

The Editor has long thought that a more useful service could not be performed to religion, than an attempt to rescue from oblivion some of those important and excellent works, which are now fast escaping from our grasp; and which, unless some steps are taken to preserve them, will shortly be altogether lost to posterity. If, therefore, the present volume should prove acceptable to the public, the Editor may, if his life be spared, follow it up with a series of lives and letters, as well from our English, as from foreign martyrologies.

In the course of the researches which the Editor has made, he has discovered one original letter, (No. 45,) and also the

verses which conclude the letters. The Editor imagines there is another original letter in the possession of Mr. Dawson Turner, of Yarmouth, who has been respectfully requested, *but in vain*, to allow it to be included in the following collection.

The Editor cannot, satisfactorily to his own mind, conclude these remarks without expressing his grateful thanks for the civility and accommodation he has uniformly received from the librarians and assistants of the British Museum, who have upon all occasions shewn a disposition to facilitate his inquiries. A similar acknowledgement is due to the librarians of Sion College, Redcross Street Library, the London Institution, and Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office.

It was the Editor's intention to have inserted in the appendix, a catalogue of the tracts upon the Popish Controversy, chiefly of the reign of James II., contained in a series of eighty volumes, octavo, which may be seen in the library of Dr. Williams, in Redcross Street; and which perhaps contain the most complete collection to be found upon the subject; but as that catalogue would add several pages to this volume, already extended far beyond the Editor's original intention, it may be considered sufficient to have informed the reader of the existence of such a collection. There are also about fifty volumes of tracts upon the same subject, in the library belonging to the French Protestant or Refugee Church, in Threadneedle Street.

Since page lxii of the appendix has been printed, the Editor has seen another edition, of Wood's Translation of the book

De Vera Obedientiâ, at Mr. Thorp's in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, who has obligingly permitted him to copy the title page.—Except what follows, and in describing Bonner, as *since* instead of *now* Bishop of London, it is the same as that inserted in page lxiv. of the appendix.

" And now translated into English, and printed bi Michael Wood : with the Preface and Conclusion of the Translator.

" From Roane, xxvi of Octobre, MDLIII.—"

This edition is in rude types of the Roman letter, whereas the edition in the Royal Library is in old English text, very well cut, and the punctuation marked by short oblique lines. From the insertion of the word *since*, we apprehend that the copy in the Royal Library is the original edition; and Roane is probably a town in the Isle of Rhè, and not Rouen, in Normandy; or it may be Roanne on the Loire.

The following is the most correct list of Bradford's works, which the Editor has been able to collect, but he is by no means satisfied that it is perfectly accurate.

1. A Meditation upon God's Providence and his Presence.

2. A Prayer that God would shorten the Persecution and restore the Gospel.

3. Institutio Divina et Vere Consolatoria certa Viri Mortis, Johanne Bradfordo, Anglo, Authore, ex vernacula Linguâ in totium Sermonem conversa.

4. The Hurt of the Mass.

5. Sermons on Repentance and the Lord's Supper.—Sion Coll. Lib. 0. 13. 6.

6. Primitiæ, or First Fruits.—1548.

7. A Godly Treatise on Prayer, translated from Melancthon.

8. Complaint of Verity.—1559.

9. Meditation on the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments.

10. The Good Old Way, or a Treatise of Repentance.—

11. Baptism of Children.

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* This Letter is also in Cov. 409.

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# Martyrological Biography,

*&c. &c.*

THE materials of the early life of Holy John Bradford, as he was usually designated,* which have come down to us are exceedingly scanty, and there is scarcely any thing to be gleaned respecting him beyond what is related by Fox, the venerable martyrologist; with the exception of those additional letters, which are included in the Compilation of the Letters of the Martyrs, collected and published by Miles Coverdale, in the year 1564.

Bradford was born at Manchester, but in what year we are uninformed; and we hear

* Not only Fox so stiles him, but Dr. Francis Godwin, successively Bishop of Llandaff and Hereford, the author of the Commentarius de Præsulibus, calls him "that godly and learned man, John Bradford."—Annals of Queen Mary, p. 186. So also Strype, "from him, (Abp. Grindal,) Fox had the history of *the Holy* John Bradford, and the letters written by him in prison."—Annals, vol. i. p. i. 375.

no more of his parents, than that they brought him up in learning from his infancy, of which he made so good a use that he attained sufficient skill in writing and in the Latin language to become a servant, or probably a secretary, to Sir John Harrington, who was treasurer of the royal camps and buildings at Calais, and in the Bullonois, during the reign of Henry VIII, and part of the reign of Edward VI.

Fox alleges that Sir John found our martyr so expert and faithful, that he not only employed him in public affairs, but entrusted his private concerns to his management in preference to his other dependants.

How long he remained in this employ we do not exactly know; but the same author informs us that Bradford quitted his patron, after a "*just account given to him of all his doings.**"

It appears at one time to have been his intention to follow the profession of the law, for we find that he was entered a student of the Inner Temple, on the 8th of April, 1547,† where he is described as of Exton, in the County of Rutland.

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* See Note (A.)

† 1 Edward VI.

(a) Martyr: Biog:

p: 2. Bradford

Bradford at this time was a gay man, and to support his extravagance made free with the King's money: but being at last unable to support the reflection of his guilt, he determined to make restitution, and actually repaid the money. vide note (a) appendix.

It is from the Temple that the earliest of Bradford's Letters which have been preserved, are dated: and we propose to introduce them into the narrative in the order in which they were written. They will thus afford the best evidence of the progressive state of the author's mind; and how it became gradually matured, as by the Spirit of the Lord, to prepare him for that noble and conspicuous testimony which God, in the mysterious dispensations of his providence, had appointed our illustrious martyr to bear to the truth of the Gospel of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

There are only six letters which we can positively ascribe to this period, and which are the following:—

## No. 1.

## TO FATHER TRAVES.*

GRATIA, misericordia, et pax, a Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo, Domino nostro.

* Fox iii. 357. This name is spelt by Fox sometimes Traves and sometimes Travers, but who he was there is no particular mention; except that it appears from the letters themselves, that he was some friend of the family, and from the superscription to one of them, that he was the minister of Blackly, near Manchester, in which place, or near to which, Bradford's mother must then have resided. Strype says he was a learned and pious Gentleman, his patron and counsellor. Mem. Eccl. vol. iii. p. i. 364.

If mine heart were not altogether adamantine, your kind letters to me unkind miser, would cause me, from the bottom of the same, to confess my ingratitude towards you upon your behalf, concerning* me so much deserved: but as I am to do, so shew I myself to write, and as I am unable in the one, so am I foolish in the other; in all those unkindnesses, rudeness, &c. whereof you accuse yourself.

I am enforced to acknowledge myself most justly condemned, not so feignedly by me confessed, as most truly by you experienced. In your letters, as in a glass I may learn by you, in detecting yourself, to espy my nakedness, which heretofore I thought clothed duplici vestitu, now only but with fig leaves hypocritically gilded, of which detection, wrought in you by the Holy Ghost, be not proud; for what have you that you have not received? But be thankful to the Lord, not only therefore, but also for those surges which you feel, now through the cares accompanying marriage, now through education and bringing up of your children and family, now through that cross of the common accustomed trade of living; for *through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of Heaven:* yea, they be the cognizances of God's election, the letter THAU, the instruments which work suspitia æternæ vitæ, and therefore to be embraced.

Believe me it is the most excellent gift of God, a man to detect and humble himself, and to feel the crosses of Christ *as crosses.* But I, a most hypocritical wretch, not worthy that this earth should bear me, am ever going to bed with Jezebel, and such as commit fornication with her, which is afflictio maxima. O Lord help me and deliver me for Jesu's sake, anoint mine eyes with ointment that I may see. Oh give me not over unto a lewd mind and reprobate sense, but awake my sleeping soul that Christ may shine in me.

You know the cross, the fatherly cross, the loving Lord hath laid upon me; but I am little or nothing moved therewith; I work therein, yet not I, but God's spirit; not of a repentant faithful mind, but, I cannot tell how, of a slothful, blind, wretchless intent. O Lord forgive me for saying so, it is thy gift; forgive me my unthankfulness for Jesu's sake, and as herein I blasphemed and dishonoured† thy

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*Anempst. † Dishonested.

holy name, so do thou by thy Holy Spirit glorify *by me** the same. So be it, so be it.

Since† my coming to London I was with Mr. Latimer, whose counsel is as you shall hear, which I purpose by God's grace to obey, (if it be thy will, O Lord fiat); he willed me, as I have done, to write to my master, who is in the country, and to shew him that if within a certain time, which I appointed, fourteen days, he do not go about to make restitution, that I will submit myself to my Lord Protector, and the King's Majesty's Council, to confess the fraud and ask pardon. This life is uncertain and frail, and when time is, it must not be deferred. And what should it profit me to win the whole world, and to lose my own soul? If, as I justly have deserved, I be put to death for it, God's will be done; at the least, slander, reproach, rebuke, loss of worldly friends, loss of living, &c. shall ensue. What then? Lord thy will be done, thine I am; if death come, welcome be it; if slander, &c. even as thou wilt Lord, so be it. Only grant me a penitent, loving, obedient heart, and of mere love to go forwards herein and not to shrink, to stand and not to fall, that thy name only be praised herein. —Amen. Pray, pray for me, cry for me, and when you shall hear any thing, comfort my mother, to whom, for that the bearer of this‡ hath not given me an hour's warning of his departure, I have not only written nothing, but also have thus prattled to you, who, as no man else would, I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth, to whose grace I commit you and your bed-fellow, with all your children and family, the shortness of time, and the bearer's importunity,§ is the only let. I neither send your spectacles, the price of the Paraphrases, nor thanks for your cheese; as by the next, that cometh I will, God willing, send the premises to you, and a godly Testament for Sir Thomas Hall, which is at the binding: but be not acknown that I have now written to you, for so I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, pray for me, and abhor not my rude scribbling, which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deserve

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* Perhaps when Bradford wrote this he little anticipated how literally his prayer would be answered.

† Sithence. ‡ This bringer.

§ This said bringer's importance.

pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the hastiness of this bringer all blame which you may lay unto me.

From the temple, this Sunday, immediately after Mr. Latimer's famous sermon, which this bringer, as he saith did hear.

By your poorest friend,

JOHN BRADFORD.

It shall not be long, God willing, but you shall both have and hear from me. Keep with you Melancthon's Common Places, for I have another.

## No. 2.*

## To SIR THOMAS HALL and FATHER TRAVERS OF BLACKLY.

The grace of God, our most merciful Father, keep your mind and soul in Christ Jesus, who alone is our full sufficient Saviour, for in him we be complete; being made, through his death, and one only oblation made and offered by himself upon the cross, the children of God, and fellow heirs with him of the celestial kingdom which is the free gift of God; and cometh not of merits, but of the mere grace of God, given to none that putteth any manner of hope or trust in any other thing visible or invisible, than in that oblation of sweet savour which Christ himself did offer upon Good Friday, (as we call it); which oblation is always recent and new in the sight of God the Father, and maketh intercession for us; us I mean, who think the loving sacrifice then offered to be sufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever shall be, for all the faithful; by the which sacrifice, if we believe, we have free pardon of all our sins. To him, therefore, who was both the offerer and offering, be all honour and praise, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, blessed for ever. Amen.

* Fox, iii. 356.

Sir Thomas, the occasion of this my long silence, my old friend John Travers shall declare unto you, upon the knowledge whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have sent unto you an English and Latin Testament, both in one print and volume, the which though it be not so beautiful without as I could have sent you, yet no less beautiful within, and more I think for your profit and better for your eyes, your eyes I mean of the body; for undoubtedly it giveth light unto the soul if she be not dead; whereof take this for an argument and a true proof. If your soul be not delighted in it, if your soul do not hunger for it, I mean not the book, but the doctrine in the book, surely your soul is sore sick, for as the body abhorring meat is not well, even so must the soul be, for other meat hath she none; Christ, whom you must believe before all men, affirms this to be true; not only in bread, but in every word of God the soul doth live.

Mark well, he saith not one or two words, or an epistle, or a gospel, but he saith, every word. Take heed, believe Christ better than any man, be he ever so holy; for he that is of God, knoweth the Word of God. Will you have a more plain badge whether you are the elect child of God or no, than this text; Christ saith, he that is of God, heareth the Word of God; but other Word of God have we none, than in the Canon of the Bible; and all things written therein, are written for our learning, saith St. Paul, whereof he proves, seeing that it is a learning, yea our learning, that we must learn it.

Therefore, woe be to all them who either persuade men that either there is other doctrine of like authority, or that dissuade them from embracing this Word, this Word of God; or that think this Word, especially the New Testament, is not above all other to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious stone which, in the Gospel, Christ says, when a man has found, he selleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it.

Mark now, how necessary and precious Christ makes that which great learned men, nay the devils, but no men, think not necessary; God help them. Christ bad his disciples sell their coats, and buy a sword; which is no other thing than the Word of God; for so St. Paul calls it, the sword of the Spirit.

This I say, Sir Thomas, to the intent that no ungodly hypocrite should persuade or dissuade you from reading the Holy Word of God,

the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Follow you St. Paul's lesson, attend reading, and let the Word of God dwell in you, how much? Plentifully, saith he; and to what end? To feed the flock of Christ; even as much as in you is, saith Peter, not once a year, nor once a quarter, as a strawberry, but so much as in you is.

This Word of God tries all doctrine; for we ought to have our consciences charged with nothing as touching religion, except the Word of God, in the Canon of the Bible, set it out; I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words; for no other foundation can any man lay, besides that which is laid. St. Paul says, the groundwork is laid already; even so saith he to the Ephesians, we be his workmanship to do good works, which God hath created that we should walk in them; he saith they were not to be made, but they are made already. What shall we think then of such works as man's wit hath formed, which yet seem most holy? Let God's word be judge. Read the same diligently and reverently with prayer, I mean not Latin service, not understood, but with true hearty prayer, and mark what the law requires, even that which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were possible. But to this end, that we seeing our abominable uncleanness and inability, might despair in ourselves, trembling at the justice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and so embrace* Christ, in whom God the Father is well pleased; which Christ, is the end of the law to justify all that believe, and continue not in their popish ignorance, justifying themselves, and treading Christ's blood under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them.

All such, be they never so well learned, never so holy, are nothing but hypocrites, and plain antichrists, which may not abide the sword of God's mouth, for the trumpets of the army, I mean still God's Word, when they blow, the high walls of Jericho, the figure of hypocrisy, fall down. Embrace, therefore, God's Holy Word, and be not only a hearer but a doer; for your calling requires you to be apt to teach such proud, hypocritical, arrogant babblers as I am now, which, if I may use this term, defile God's Word, God forgive me, and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me, that spares me thus, Lucifer like, not of

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* Amplect.

a true zeal, but of a foolish bragging, which prate of God's Holy Word, I wot not what I do to confess it, so it is. I have sent you other books which I pray you read, I have written your name in them. The Holy Ghost keep you, with your brother George, his wife, and children, and with your brother James, &c., Sir Lawrance, &c., this 20th of March, ——.

A very painted Hypocrite,*

JOHN BRADFORD,

Your's in Christ for ever.

Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take John Traves's help to read this letter written in haste. If any thing but good be chanced to John Traves, which God forbid, I pray you burn my letters out of hand.

## No. 3.†

## TO FATHER TRAVES.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with increase of all manner of godly knowledge and living, be with you and all your household, now and ever.—Amen.

To excuse this, my long silence, within five or six days after my like foolish letters written to you by John Mosse, it pleased God to send my master hither to London; whom as I lately tofore had advertised by letters, I moved, you know wherein, and prayed him to discharge the same, or else I would submit myself, &c. Whereunto he answered, that if the books should declare it, he would satisfy, &c. The books I shewed, whereupon he promised as much as I could ask.

But being herein something more moved than he had cause, God be praised therefore, which of his mere good pleasure wrought it; at

* See Note (B). † Fox iii. 358.

times, as I could, I desired to know how, and in what time, he would discharge us both. He thinking me to be over curious herein, was not therewith contented; and hearing me to allege the uncertainty of time and the fear of God's justice, which, O gracious Lord, grant me to feel indeed as much as thou knowest good for me, he answered me to be scrupulous and of a superstitious conscience, for animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Dei; and plainly said further, that I should not know, nor by these words have his head so under my girdle. And when I shewed him that God witnessed with me I went about no such thing, he said that there was no godly conscience, seeing he promised afore the face of God to discharge me and to pay the thing, but it ought so to be quieted. And thus at divers and sundry times, moving eftsoons* to know of him the way and time of discharging the debt, and having none other answers than tofore, I doubting wordly wisdom, which useth delays, to reign in him with this mammon, the which, O merciful God, eradicate out of his heart, mind, and all others, I was sometime more sharp and told him, non ego tamen, sed gratia tua Domine, I would obey God more than man; the which he lightly regarding as seemed, I departed and went to M. Latimer, to have had him to have brought me to my Lord Protector, whose Grace then was purposed shortly to take his journey to visit the Ports; M. Latimer, I say, willed me to stay until his return, which will not be long before Easter.

In this mean time I had my bedfellow, my master's son, whom my master had used as his instrument to move me carnally; for my master had discharged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could not be able to keep either home or child, for I purposed to undo both him and all his, untruly thou knowest, good Lord; and bade him to take that as a warning, that both he and his brethren should provide for themselves as they could. I bade, I say, my said bedfellow to shew my master, as of himself, my further purpose, which thing when he knew, so moved and feared him, that he began something to relent, and then made fair promises; that look what I should devise, that would he do. I devised, but my devices pleased him not.

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* Often.

And thus, but not vainly I trust, as I now do with you, but I know your gentleness, which ever hath borne with me, I spent the time in which I have been silent to write, nay babble to you, and he departing out of London before I knew, did send me word by another of his said sons, not so given to the gospel and a good life as my bed-fellow, and therefore more to be suspected,—for though pietas non est suspiciosa, as I should think myself rather impius, yet Christ bade us to be prudentes sicut serpentes,—this other brother, I say, told me that my master would do all things, only his fame and ability preserved, et quid prodest totum mundum lucrari, animæ vero jacturam facere?

And with the said brother my master sent me a little billet also, wherein he confessed that he was contented within twelve months to deliver to my hands the whole money, which bill I thinking not so good as it might have been, have devised another, and have sent it down to him in the country, with request that he will seal and sign it, for thus Mr. Latimer thinketh sufficient, but as yet I hear not of it; doubting worldly wisdom, which was the whore that overcame Sampson, that moved David to slay Urias, that brought wise Solomon to idolatry, that crucified Christ, the which moved me to perpetate hoc facinus, the which worketh in my master's heart, having higher place there than timor Domini.

What say I, there, yea, yea, with me it sitteth in the holy place, the Lord deliver us, doubting, I say, worldly wisdom, I remain in that same state now for this matter, though in worse for my soul, which is more to be lamented; pray therefore, I beseech you, pray with me and for me, that I may do so earnestly, than I was in at my last writing unto you. And as I then was purposed, so I doubt not, grant it Lord, but that I shall persevere, if in the mean season I shall not hear from my master accordingly.

Thus I have, like myself, foolishly but truly, declared unto you in many babbling words, which wit, if I had it, would have shortly and briefly comprehended; arrogant, nay God's working unthankful wretch, my working in this matter, which is and was the only cause, as I now do, I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might advertise you some certainty in this thing. And though silence had been much better than this foolish prating, yet your fatherly kindness ever towards me, in expecting from you a correction, as I have herein given cause,

may, though not to you, yet to me be profitable. In hope whereof I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembrance of me, a most unkind wretch to God and you, in your prayers with the Almighty Merciful Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleasure herein, than all honour or shame in this life.

But I must confess unto you that my working in this matter is not of love, as I should do, nor of fear of God's justice; mine unthankfulness, mine unthankfulness, if nothing else were, hath not only deserved it, but doth deserve more than everlasting damnation; O Lord be merciful to me, I do not so repent it as I should do.—Why say I *so?* as though this *so* were any thing? Oh hypocritical wretch that I am. Alas, Father Traves, let me so call upon you, I am hardhearted, there was never any so obstinate, so unkind, against so loving, so merciful, so gracious, so good, so bountiful a Lord, yea a Father, as I wretch and most miserable sinner am. This I speak; but not of humility, but of hypocrisy, yet I speak truly. I pray thee, good father, for Christ's sake, I may think it truly, as I write it even of arrogancy, so it is. Therefore pray and cry for me.

Here be such goodly, godly, and learned sermons, which these uncircumcised ears of mine hear at the least three a week, which were able, the great loving mercy of God offered to me in them, I mean, to burst any man's heart, to relent, to repent, to believe, to love, and to fear that omnipotent gracious Lord. But my adamantine, obstinate, most unkind, ingrate, unthankful heart, hearing my Lord, which is the Lord over all Lords, so graciously, so lovingly, vouchsafe by so many of his instruments to speak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his law, now by his threats, now by his Gospel, now by his promises, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to himself.

I hide me with Adam in the garden, I play not only Samuel running to Eli, but I play Jonas running to the sea, and there I sleep upon the hatches, tumbling in Jezebel's bed, quod est afflictio maxima, until it please God to anoint mine eyes collyrio, until it please him to raise up a tempest, to turn and look upon me as Luke saith he did on Peter. For, O Lord, it is thy gift, and cometh of thee and of thy mere grace, it cometh not of man, it cometh not of works, to repent, to believe, to fear, and to love. Work thou therefore in me, for Jesus Christ's sake, which am thy creature and most unthankful

hypocritical servant, not when I will, nor as I will, but when thou wilt, even that which may be most to the glory of thy name.—Amen.

What should I write? Nay, why do I not pluck these same words and paper in pieces, for I write altogether of hypocrisy and arrogant presumption, I will confess it, thou wicked spirit, the Lord judge thee, I will confess it, it is most true, John Traves, I but only write it, for it is not I, it is hypocrisy. Scientia, if I had it, inflaret. Oh Lord grant me thy grace, and leave me not to my own judgment and reason. Hypocrisy, arrogancy, and obstinate security environ me, yet I feel them not, the Lord deliver me Pray for me, give God thanks for me. O Lord, even tua fiat voluntas: unlock this mine heart, thou which hast the key of David, which openest only, that I may desire to have the desire of the glory of thy name, of repentance, faith, &c. Pray for me, and be thankful for me, O Father Traves, and write to me. Your letters I desire more to see, than any man's living. Let me have them, therefore, as you may, but your prayer at all times, that God would open my heart to feed and taste of these comfortable places of scripture, which to me are locked, memento Jesum Christum resurrexisse ex mortuis. This text as a text of most comfort, as it is indeed, and when God will, I shall feed on it, did Paul send to Timothy to be his comfort in all places. For our salvation, this day of resurrection, is nearer now than when we believed. Wherefore, qui perseveraverit salvus erit. For consummabitur prævaricatior, saith Daniel; finem accipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, et adducetur justitia sempiterna. Deus ipse veniet et salvabit nos. Veniens, veniet, et non tardabit, et quandocumque manifestatus fuerit vita nostra Christus, tunc et nos manifestabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus est ut multorum peccata tolleret, rursus absque peccato conspicietur iis qui illum expectant in salutem. Sic semper cum Domino erimus; proinde consolemini vos invicem mutuo sermonibus hiis.

O Lord open mine eyes which see nothing of the great comforts in these thy most rich words; open mine eyes, good Lord, ne nunquam obdormiam in morte. Pray for me, and commend me to your good bedfellow, et omnibus in Christo fratribus osculo sancto.

Thus I make an end, for it is time you may say, and I pray you still water Sir Thomas Hall, unto whom I have sent a fair Testament, both in English and Latin, if this bringer shall carry it. And I have

herewith sent you a letter, which first peruse and read, and when you have so done, abhor not me, but my wickedness, and pray for me. And, as you can see a meet time, seal it and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolstoncros, by such policy as you can think, by God's grace, through prayer.

I confess unto you, God is my witness, to my knowledge, I never in my being in the country this winter at any time called it to remembrance, the Lord forgive me. I would by some occasion, if any could be had afore the delivery* of the Letter, by some story or communication, that he did know that abomination to be sin, for I fear he thinketh it to be no sin. The Lord open our eyes, and forgive us.—Amen. The peace of God be with you.—Amen. From the Temple, this 22d of March, 1547.

Yours in Christ most bounden,

JOHN BRADFORD.

I have sent you three pair of good spectacles I trow, and other such books as have your name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me.

## No. 4.†

## TO FATHER TRAVES.

Gratia, Misericordia, et Pax, &c.

My chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, so that I am constrained, time coarcting me, to write not so much of things which I will omit, as my desire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleased God to bring it to this end, that I have a bill of my master's hand, wherein he is bound to pay the sum afore Candlemas next coming. This thinks Master Latimer

* Deliveris. † Fox iii. 359.

to be sufficient; therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a most wretched ingrate sinner, which have also in other things no less cause to praise God's name. As for that I have, and sustain my master's sore displeasure, the which hath brought me, God I should say, through it, unto a more contempt of worldly things, through the sequestration of such his business, as tofore I had ado withal, I call it a contempt, well, take the word even as it is hypocritically and vaingloriously spoken; for the which fault, amongst many others innumerable, I trust you remember in your prayers, whereof I have made, I would I knew how much, need.

There is yet another thing whereof I will advertise you, even to this end, that you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I trust shortly to begin, so he may vouchsafe shortly to confirm that he hath begun; as, if I be not deceived, I believe it is his working. If the thing seem by God's spirit in you that I presume, then for the Lord's sake advertise me; for I am much given to that disease, the Lord deliver me. I have moved my master therein already by letters, to see if I shall have any living of him as hitherto I have had; but I have thereof no answer, nor, as our natural speech is, any likelihood of any grant. Yet that I have already, I trust will suffice me for three years; you look what my purpose meaneth, I am so long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, because my long babbling should be less tedious. Now shall you have it. If God's will be, whereunto pray I may be obedient, I am minded afore Midsummer to leave London and go to my books at Cambridge, and, if God shall give me grace, to be a minister of his Word. Thus you have of a fly an elephant. Well, take it in good part, though you see my etiam non, and not etiam, etiam.

A tumbling block gathereth no moss; so therefore pray for me. Perchance I do foolishly to forsake so good a living as I have. I will say no more hereof, but pray for me. I trust, as I said, for three years' study I have sufficient, if my master take all from me; and when this is spent God will send more. I do not write this that you should think me to be in need of worldly help, and therefore, as friars were wont, secretly to beg. No, in the Lord's name I require you not to take it so; for I had rather never send a letter, afore I should be herein a

cross to you, for sufficit sua diei afflictio, we are more set by than many sparrows.

But if my mother or Sir Thomas Hall murmur at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counsel. Howbeit, as yet I will not write to them of it, until such time as I be going. I am something fickle-minded and inconstant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the plough, presumptuously spoken, I look not back. You may gather by my words in this letter the heroical heart which lieth in me.

I have sent you a book of Bucer against Winchester,* in English, lately translated, which I never read, therefore I cannot praise it. And, as I call to remembrance, I did send you with the other books more† than you received, at the least one of them I remember which is called, "The Common Places, or the Declaration of the Faith, by Urbanus Rhegius," ask for it, or send me word in whom the default is, you have it not. Hereafter, and that shortly, by God's grace, I will send you "Primitiæ Laborum meorum," a work or two which I have translated into English, so soon as they be printed, which will be afore Whitsuntide.

Pray for me good Father Traves, and God send you health of soul and body, as I would mine own or any man's living. But yet to warn you of that you know not, in writing your letters to me, you hit me home, and give me that I look for. You are deceived, and so is all that know me; I never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling sets me afloat, God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all men be most bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you, I run as the priest saith mattins, for I think I may be bold on you. The Holy Ghost preserve you, your wife, and family, and persevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a most, what should I call me, miserable and blasphemous sinner. The Peace of God be with us. From the Temple, this 12th of May, 1548.

Sir Thomas Hall hath deceived me, but himself most. I desire to speak with him, as this winter it may chance, if I discharge not myself of mine office, to see him. Pray for him and for me.

A very hypocrite,

JOHN BRADFORD.

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* Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of that See. † Moe.

## No. 5.*

# TO FATHER TRAVES.

The perseverance of God's grace, with the knowledge of his good-will, increase with you unto the end. To declare myself, as I am a carnal man, which understandeth not the things that be of the spirit. These my letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongst them the spiritual words, as the devil did in his temptations to Christ, will declare no less. For I begin with carnal things in effect, and no marvel if I so end; for how can a man gather figs of briers? These words as they seem, so they are spoken for a cloak to make you think otherwise; but Father Traves you cannot think so evil of me as I am; but to the matter.

This present day by God's grace I take my journey towards Cambridge, where I pray God, and so earnestly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumspectly redeem this time which God hath appointed to me unknown, to lend me; for alas, I have spent most wickedly the time past, for the which I must account even for every hair breadth as they say; for *God hath not given here time to sin.*

But if I considered this, as I do nothing less, custom of sin and pleasing myself hath so hardened my heart, I should then come to the feeling of myself, then should I hate sin which I now love, then should I fear God's wrath, which I now contemn, then should I cry out and weep, and continually pray, whereas now I am dry as a stone, as dumb as a nail, as far from praying, as he that never knew any taste of it. Which thing once I felt, thanks to the Lord, but now for mine unthankfulness I am almost, but most worthily, despised.

I fear me God will take his grace from me, I am so unthankful. Alas, why do I lie in saying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do so, for then should I pray and pray; but seeing I cannot, speak you for me, pray you for me, that the Lord would remember his old compassions towards me, for his mercies' sake draw me, yea compel me to serve, to fear, and to love him. Thus may you see how I

* Fox, iii. 360.

presume; for my intent was to have been a minister of God's word, to have been his instrument to have called *from* as I have called *to* sin, but you see how that God punisheth my arrogancy.

Alas, what shall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle member, I thought I should have been therein profitable, but Medice cura teipsum. How should I, or what should I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I trust God will give me grace and knowledge to translate; nothing I fear me, yea, I distrust me, that I shall never be minister of God's word; yea, if arrogancy were not in me, how should I, of all wretches the greatest, think me to look to the *highest room and vocation that is upon earth.* * Therefore eftsoones I desire you to pray for me, that God's will may be done in me whether I live or die, so that his name be honoured.

My master which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this life more than enough, thanks be to God; as this winter I intend by God's favour to declare more unto you. This book which I have sent, take it in good part, it is the first, I trust it shall not be the last, God hath appointed me to translate. The print is very false, I am sorry for it. I pray you be not offended at my babbling in the prologues, &c.

JOHN BRADFORD.

I will lye, God willing, this summer, at Katherine's Hall in Cambridge; write to me.

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## No. 6.†

## TO FATHER TRAVES.

The loving kindness and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the faithful, in the blood of that meek

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* Rom. xi. 13. 2 Cor. v. 20.

† Fox, iii. 361.

Lamb, Jesus Christ, our only satisfaction and mediator, through the working of the most holy Spirit, be increased and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

Because I stand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of such letters as I write and send unto you, dearly beloved Father Traves, I am constrained to leave off such griefs, and spiritual wants, as thanks unto the Lord I unwillingly feel; for the flesh, as you know, loveth nothing so much as security, of all enemies most perilous, and not a little familiar with me; from the which, with vain glory, hypocrisy, &c. and worldliness, the Lord deliver me.

I had not thought to have written thus much, but these I cannot keep, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you should not think any ingratitude in m , as also that I might give you occasion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even so do I interturb and trouble you with my babbling, but yet having this commodity, that I babble not so much as I wont to do. The cause I have declared, which had almost been the cause I had not written at all. I did write unto you from London when I came hither; send me word what letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by John Moss, and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had visited you with sickness, his fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you, ut in tempore supremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus—afflictus, quod exploratio fidei multo pretiosior auro quod perit, et tamen probatur, &c. Siquidem in hoc vocatus es, ut cum Christo patiaris, nam et cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim sermo est, si sufferimus et conregnabimus. You know that Christ, etsi filius Dei erat, tamen ex his quæ passus est didicit obedientiam. Patientia opus perfectum habeat ut sitis perfecti et integri, nullaque in parte diminuti; and doth not patientia come of probatio, the one then you had, so that you were going a school to learn the other; which learned, what want you?

The end of all God's proving, is as Paul saith, ut impertiat nobis sanctimoniam; igitur gratias age Deo Patri qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem sortis sanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui parumper afflixit, idem instauret te, fulciat, roboret, stabiliat. And that the Lord knoweth how eripere pios e tribulatione, and that in tempore

opportuno, even shortly; for haud tardat qui promisit; nam modicum tempus, et videbis me; veniens enim veniet, et non tardabit. Itaque qui consortes estis Crucis Christi, gaudete, saith Peter, ut in revelatione quoque gloriæ ejus gaudeatis exultantes.

Oh how doth my will overrun my wit. Why Bradford, whom writest you unto? Thou shewest thyself. Thus Father Traves, you may see my rashness to rabble out the scripture without purpose, time, or reason. I will not blot it out as I thought to have done; for that hereby you shall see my need of your prayer.

Well, I look for a watch word from you, write for God's sake, and pray for me that I may be in something profitable to the Lord's congregation, that I may be no stumbling block, ut confundantur in me qui illum expectant. Send me such counsel as the Lord's spirit shall move you how to study, my desire is in something to be profitable, if it were the Lord's will, for to be minister verbi, alas I am unmeet, and my time, my time, yea the Lord's time, I have hitherto evil, yea most wickedly mispent it, &c. Thus will I end; the Lord be with you, and your bedfellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your children and family, the which I beseech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace; pray for me. I long for winter to speak with you. Rescribe oro. Pray for me. This Assumption Day in Katherine's Hall in Cambridge.

Your's with all I have and can,

JOHN BRADFORD.

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THE supreme disposer of all events had however a far more important work for this distinguished servant of Christ to perform, than the intricate mazes and the benumbing practice of human jurisprudence. Although the preceding letters intimate an intention of removing to Cambridge, we are not informed

what particular circumstances induced him to quit the study of the law. It is highly probable that his associations with the venerable Latimer, to which these letters allude, had a considerable share in leading Bradford to that determination, which was so soon to place on his head the crown of Martyrdom.

Accordingly we find him a student at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, in the year 1548, and within a year after that event he had made such proficiency in his studies, that the University conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts, a circumstance to which he alludes in the following letter:—

No. 7.*

## TO FATHER TRAVES.

The plentiful grace of God the Father, through our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ, increase in us daily to the glory of his name. Amen.

Forasmuch as I have often written to you, good Father Traves, and yet have not once heard from you since Pentecost, I cannot now be so bold either in writing much or often as I would have been: howbeit this I say, that I much marvel that I hear not from you: but not so, for I am so wretched a sinner, that the Lord's Spirit I am certain doth not move you to write to me, yet for God's sake pray for me, and in the Lord's name I desire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may please God to move you, write to me, though it be but two words, and counsel me how to study the word of life, the ministry whereof I desire, if it be the Lord's pleasure,

* Fox, iii. 361.

to profess, and that I may do it both in living and learning, pray for me.

Herus meus omnibus rebus suis me abdicavit, et quæ prius concesserat, jam solvere renuit, et mihi prorsus factus est inimicus. I know not when I shall see you in body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you should think me in egestate aut angustiis esse. No, Father, the Lord giveth me omnia affatim, and will do. I trust I shall shortly here have a fellowship, I am so promised, and therefore I have taken the degree of Master of Art, which else I could not have attained. If I get a fellowship, I shall not need de crastino sollicitus esse, as hereafter I shall more write to you by God's grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haste as appeareth, the 22d of October. Ne sciat mater mea quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.

Miserrimus Peccator,

J. BRADFORD.

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Very soon afterwards he was spontaneously elected a Fellow of Pembroke College, on the invitation of his friend, Bishop Ridley,* from whence we have the two following letters:—

No. 8.†

## TO FATHER TRAVES.

The peace and plenteous mercy of God our heavenly Father, in his Christ our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increased in you by the holy spirit, qui efficit omnia in omnibus, Amen.

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* This Prelate was then Bishop of Gloucester, and also Master of Pembroke College.—Biog. Brit. ii. 542.

† Fox, iii. 361.

Father Traves, though I might think myself more happy, if you would often write unto me, yet because I ought to have respect to your pains, which now that old man cannot so well sustain as it might, I had rather lose my happiness in that behalf, than will your grief; for as much as it can be no happiness unto me which turneth to your pain: yet because pain is not painful when it is joined with gain, I therefore desire you for God's sake to pray often for me: for if I shall not be worthy of your prayer, as the Lord who knoweth all things doth right well see it, and so my conscience witnesseth, yet your good prayer shall return into your own bosom.

And know this, that whoso converteth a sinner, whether it be by prayer, preaching, or writing letters, &c. the same hath saved a soul. Use therefore, for God's sake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joined profit, I mean prayer to God for me, a miserable and most wretched sinner: and as for the gainless pain in writing to me, use it yet as you may, and surely God for whose sake you do it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, will in something requite you.

And I know certainly, that if you did see what spiritual profit I receive by your letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour lost. For Christ's sake therefore begin again to write unto me, and reprove me sharply for my horrible unthankfulness to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my laden* conscience of the great weighty burthen, for so I did write to you, yea the Lord hath in a manner unburdened me of the lesser burthen also: for I have an assurance of the payment of the same by Candlemas. Lo! thus you see what a good God the Lord is unto me. O Father Traves, give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulness. But what should I rehearse the benefits of God towards me? Alas, I cannot, I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious against God. For where you know the sun, the moon, and the seven stars did forsake me, and would not shine upon me, you know what I mean per herum et heriles amicos, yet the Lord hath given me here in the University as good a living as I would have wished. For I am now a Fellow of Pembroke Hall: for the which neither I nor any

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* Loden.

other for me did ever make any suit:* yea, there was a contention between the master of Catherine Hall, and the Bishop of Rochester, who is master of Pembroke Hall, whether should have me, sit hoc tibi dictum.

Thus you may see the Lord's carefulness for me. My fellowship here is worth seven pounds a year; for I have allowed me eighteenpence a week, and as good as thirty-three shillings and fourpence, and fourpence a year in money, besides my chamber, launder, barber, &c. and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a year to keep a problem. Thus you see what a good Lord God is unto me. But I pray you what do I now to God for all this? I will not speak of the great mercies he sheweth upon my soul. Surely, Father Traves, I have clean forgotten God, I am all secure, idle, proud, hard-hearted, utterly void of brotherly love; I am envious, and disdain others; I am a very stark hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in my letters to you. I am all sensual without the true fear of God, another manner of man than I have been since my call. Alas, Father Traves, I write this to put myself in remembrance, but I am without all sense, I do but only write it. For God's sake pray for me, which am only in name a christian, in very deed a very worldling, and to say to you the very truth, the most worldling of all other. I pray you exhort my mother now and then, with my sister Margaret, to fear the Lord; and if my mother had not sold the fox fur which was in my father's Gown, I would she would send it me. She must have your counsel in a piece of cloth.

Your's for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 9†.

## TO FATHER TRAVERS, MINISTER OF BLACKLEY.

The abundant grace and rich mercy of God in Christ, our only Saviour and High Bishop, be increased in your heart through the

* Suite. † Fox, iii. 355.

lively worker of all goodness, the Holy Spirit, until the Day of the Lord, &c.

I have received your two letters (good Father Travers) since I did write unto you, whereof though honesty willeth make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and saith, it is better with shame to confess the fault, (for therein is, as a man might say, half a deserving of pardon), than without shame to lie. I might have written unto you twice, notwithstanding indeed some business wherein I have something been occupied, but yet I have not. Now the case is, because I would not. And why would I not? but because I could not, I mean, because my careing is taken away by sin, for my sins do forbid goodness unto me. Indeed if my sinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of mercy of that which I have lost: but seeing, both willing and knowing I have too much yielded, and yet do yield to my infirmities, justly I do deserve, that because I have cast away, and rejected the word of the Lord behind my back, the Lord should reject me. And because I would not have blessing, I am worthy, as David saith, that it be taken away from me.

I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of God's favour, is sooner seen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the cross pincheth. Afore it pleased God to work the restitution, you know what I mean, and afore it pleased God to provide for me as he hath done, so that I can say in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body: I was another manner of man, than now I am, and yet God's deserts have otherwise bounden me: but the scripture is true, I have advanced my children, and nourished them, but they have contemned me, I have fed them that they were fat and gross, and they spurned against me. Perchance you will ask me wherein? Oh, Father Travers, I warrant you, this is my stile, in carnal and not in spiritual writing, doth something shew unto you; but as for it, in comparison of other things is nothing. For where the life of man is such, that either it paineth or amendeth, as Paul saith, the outward man is corrupted day by day, and therefore except the inward man be renewed, the shoe goeth awry, every building in Christ doth grow to a holy temple, as the wicked on the contrary part shall proceed to worser.

I have made a change far otherwise in going back, than I think

by letters I can persuade you: Wherein will you say? For the first, second, and third, and to be brief, in all things. As for an example, God's true fear is flown away from me, love to my brethren is exiled from me, faith is utterly taken away. Instead whereof is distrust and doubtfulness bearing rule, contempt of God's honour, and of my brethren reigning; and instead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the principality. For I extenuate sin, and I do not consider that is sin, which a Christian ought to consider; that sin being not forgiven, is such a thing for the which God casteth his creature away, as examples not only of Saul, of Judas, of the Israelites, (which were beloved indeed, and yet for sin are rejected), but also of others, on whom lately for my warning God hath shewed the same, do admonish me.

But it is but my pen which writes this: for the wicked, saith Solomon, when they come into the depth of their sins, then they grow in security. I am I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindly, or else would I awake otherwise than I do, I fear me I say that I am entangled of the devil, after his desire. Pray for me that the Lord would give me repentance, that I may escape out of his snares. Alas, the spirit of prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be merciful unto me. I am sold under sin, I am the bond slave of sin; for whom I obey, his servant I am. I am ashamed to speak oft, no I shame not at all; for I have forgot to blush, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey, I obey I say my own concupiscences, namely in eating, in drinking, in jangling and idleness, I will not speak of vain glory, envy, disdain, hypocrisy, desire of estimation, self love, and who can tell all?

Is this the reward thou renderest to God, O Bradford? It is true, yea too true, thou knowest it, O Lord, for thy mercy's sake pardon me. In your letters you touch me home, how that there is no man's heart, but that considering the ingratitude of this world, this belly-chear, wherein you even take me by the nose, &c. his eyes would tumble out great gushes of tears. The Lord be praised which worketh so in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be so again, but oh it is very unlikely; for mine enemies are become old, and are made by custom more than

familiar, for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot persuade myself that God will help me. O Lord be merciful unto me for thy Christ's sake. This day I received the Lord's Supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night, which I have spent in lasciviousness, in wantonness, and in prodigality, obeying my flesh and belly, doth so declare, that what to say, or write any more, I know not; sleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occasion of making this bringer a supper in my chamber; the Lord pardon me, I trust no more to be so far overseen. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deserved, so feareth me, thou knowest it O Lord; but of this perchance too much.

For God's sake pray for me, good Father Travers, and write unto me as you may by your weakness, your letters do me good. By this which I have now written you may consider more, touch me therefore home in your letters, and the Lord, I trust, shall and will reward you. If God lend me life, of which I am most unworthy, I will more trouble you with my letters, than I have done, but bear with me, I do it not out of any evil will, the Lord I take to judge, there is none whose company and talk I more desire than your's, I speak it before God.

Prove my mother's mind how she can bear it, if when I shall come down I shall shew myself another man outwardly, but alas feignedly, than before I have done. Marry when my coming will be I know not. Indeed two things move me sore, the one for my mother's cause, concerning her better instruction, if the Lord would thereto use me his instrument; the other is to talk with you, and eftsoons to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but always to my profit. For God's sake pray for me, for I had never so much need. This Sunday at night, following St. Andrew's Day, at Pembroke Hall.

The most miserable, hard hearted, unthankful sinner,

JOHN BRADFORD.

The learned Martin Bucer, who had been invited by Archbishop Cranmer to come to England, was then professor of divinity at Cambridge; and became so exceedingly partial to Bradford, and so highly esteemed his piety, that he urged him to employ his talents in preaching. To all such solicitations, though often repeated, Bradford modestly replied that he was unable to undertake that office, through want of learning; but Bucer endeavoured to remove that objection by telling him, that if he had not fine manchet bread to bestow, he should at least give the poor people barley bread, or whatever else the Lord had committed to him. (a)

Dr. Ridley had formed so high an opinion of Bradford, that very soon after that prelate was translated to the See of London, he sent for him to come and take deacon's orders. Upon that occasion, Bradford considered that some of the ceremonies then practised in ordination were abuses, and refused to submit to them; but Ridley perceiving that Bradford was inclined to enter into the ministry, and well aware of his intrinsic worth; was of too expanded and comprehensive a mind to insist upon his compliance with such non-essentials;

(a) p 28. It appears that after taking Chambers in the Inner Temple and after studying the laws for some time he formed an inclination to preach the Gospel and in 1548 removed to Cambridge going first to Catherine Hall

Here he devoted himself very laboriously and assiduously to the study of Divinity that in a much shorter time than usual he was admitted to the degree of A.M.: and shortly after made Fellow of Pembroke Hall - vide Note F. appendix.

(b) p 29. In 1553 he was made Chaplin to Edward 6th. and was one of the most popular preachers of the day.

and therefore not only ordained* him without insisting upon the objectionable practice;† but obtained for him a license to preach; and gave him a prebend's stall in his own cathedral church of St. Paul. And so great was the confidence of this judicious prelate in our martyr, that he made him his own domestic chaplain.‡

Our reformer performed his duty of a preacher in an exemplary manner for the space of three years,§ teaching faithfully and labouring diligently, in many parts of England, but probably more generally at St. Paul's. He exposed and reproved sin with severity; preached Christ crucified sweetly; forcibly attacked the prevailing errors and heresies, and earnestly exhorted his hearers to holiness of life. (b)

The following letters also must necessarily have been written before Bradford went into confinement:

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* See App. Note (C.) † See App. Note (D.) ‡ See App. Note (E.)

§ "He was at Catherine first, and afterwards elected of Pembroke, and he was an earnest preacher there, exciting his auditors to walk worthy of the gospel, and threatening them with terrible judgments, if they rejected the means they then enjoyed."—Strype Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. 1. 365. See App. Note (F)

## No. 10.*

## TO M. TRAVES,

*Begging his Prayers, and lamenting his own sinful Condition.*

GRACE and mercy from God the Father through our Lord Christ, govern our minds, *ne dominetur in nobis peccatum.* Amen.

Yesterday a little before supper, I was desired by a neighbour, my mother's friend, ayenst this day to dinner: unto whom, for that a refusal would have been imputed disdainful stateliness, I unwillingly, (God to witness) but not unadvisedly yet foolishly, granted to the same: which I advertise you, as mine excuse of not coming this day. And for mine absence yesterday, my vain liking for you to have come with your nearest neighbour, (the rather for that I hear him commit to you the survey of his will), hath with some repentance deceived me, though to my hurt and loss, yet to your profit, which else, by my coming and troubling you, should have been contrary. If you come not to morrow hither, send me word by this bringer and if there be no sermon, I will come to you, to have your counsel; in such things as by letters I will not now write.

In the mean season, in your communication with God, I pray you have me, of all sinners, a most negligent, unthankful, and wretched, (Oh! that from the bottom of my heart I confessed the same unfeignedly,) in remembrance: that at length I might truly convert, and return from these greasy flesh-pots of Egypt, to feed with his manna, patiently and assuredly expecting his mercy, joyfully sighing for, and bearing the badge of his disciples and servants, the cross: I mean to crucify this luciferous and gluttonous heart, more than most, worthy of the rich Epulo, his unquenchable thirst, and gnawing worms of Herod. This paper, pen, and ink, yea, the marble stone, weepeth, to see my slothful security, and unthankful hardness,

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* Strype Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. 2. 283.

to so merciful and long-suffering a Lord. I confess it, I confess it, though not tremblingly, humbly or penitently, yet I confess it, Oh! hypocritically I confess it.

Therefore pray, pray for me, *ut resipiscam, et ut Deum convertar, non contemnens iram ejus, et mortem filii sui Jesu Christi, sed ut spiritu incedam, et spiritu vivam:* evermore to bewail my carnal security, and this *philautiam:* that I may be made a new creature through grace, made meet to receive the new wine of the gospel into a new vessel, purified by faith, wrought by the spirit of consolation. Which may vouchsafe to lead us in all truth and godly living; *ut in ipso cognoscamus Deum patrem, solum verum Deum, et quem misit Jesum Christum.* To which most blessed Trinity be all honour and glory for ever. *Amen.* From Manchester in haste, this Thursday in the morning.

Yours as his own,
JOHN BRADFORD.

To my very loving friend John Traves,
in Blakely.

## No. 11.*

*To some Person of Quality unknown; excusing his not coming; being desired; and debasing himself.*†

Grace and virtue from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, govern our minds, that sin have not the upper hand of virtue in our souls. Amen.

Whereas your mastership hath desired me to have been with you this present day, which was never in your company, I being also a refuse, an abject, a hireling of this naughty and wretched world;

* Idem p. 284.

† There is little doubt but that this was addressed to the Lord Russel, to whom we shall afterwards find two other letters.

yea, a worse than so, one of the most wretched sinners living: these things considered on the one side, and your humane gentleness on the other, seeing, I say, that I have disobeyed your most gentle request and desire, I am worthy, if ye should entreat with me according to my deserving, not only to go without, or want all such ghostly edifying and profit, which I might have had of your mastership, but also to have you from now forth ever to be heavy master to me. But all this notwithstanding, I will comfort myself with your gentleness, trusting ye will not take me at the worst. And thus comforting myself with your gentle humanity, I humbly beseech your mastership that ye will be content this next week, or the Easter week, or any other time at your pleasure. And surely, if ye will appoint no time, I will come afore I be called. I thank you for your book.

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After the death of King Edward VI. Bradford still continued diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by Queen Mary and her Council; and that for an act in itself highly praiseworthy, and which especially merited gratitude and kindness at the hands of those who thenceforward became his inveterate and unrelenting persecutors.

The circumstances were as follow. On Sunday, the 13th of April, 1553, Gilbert Bourn, who had been appointed by Bonner, then Bishop of London, a Canon of St. Paul's,* delivered an inflammatory discourse at Paul's Cross in praise of Bonner, against

* He was afterwards made Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the room of Wm. Barlow, who had fled on the accession of Mary.

the late monarch, and in favour of popery, which so excited the populace that they were ready to drag him out of the pulpit.

Neither respect for the place, the presence of Bonner, nor regard for the civil authority of the Lord Mayor, who remonstrated with them, could restrain their rage; at length a dagger having been thrown at Bourn by one of the mob, his brother entreated Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forward and address the people. Our martyr cheerfully complied with this request, and exhorted them to submission and obedience to so good effect, that the multitude, after hailing him with affectionate expression, dispersed quietly.

As soon as Bourn thought he might safely venture out of the pulpit, and, notwithstanding the civil authorities were at hand to protect him, he besought Bradford not to quit him till he was in a situation of safety; and whilst the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs preceded Bourn to the Grammar School House, Bradford and Rogers (another martyr) kept close to him behind, concealing him with their gowns, and thus conducted him safe through the mob.* In the afternoon of the same day,

* Upon that occasion some of the people warned him of his own impending danger, by exclaiming, "Ah, Master Bradford, you are saving him who will one day help to burn you."

Bradford, who had not yet been silenced, preached at Bow Church, and shortly reproved the people for their tumultuous and seditious behaviour in the morning.

Within three days afterwards, however, he was sent for to the Tower of London to appear before the Queen and her Council; where he was charged with his conduct on the preceding Sunday, as seditious; his accusers choosing to assume, that as he could so easily disperse the mob, he must have had some hand in exciting it.* They also objected against him for preaching; and finally committed him to the Tower; during his confinement in which, it would seem that he wrote the following letters:

## No. 12.†

*To his Mother, a godly Matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his Brethren and Sisters, and other of his Friends there.*

Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, whose prisoner at this present (praised be his name therefore I am,) preserve and keep you

* See Bradford's own account of this transaction in his examination January 31, 1555, from which it appears, that he endangered his own life, in order to save that of Bourn.

† Fox, iii. 308. Cov. 290. The general title to the letters of Bradford, in this collection is as follows: letters of Maister John Bradforde, a faythful minister and a synguler pyller of Christes churche: by whom great travailes and diligence in preaching and planting the syncerity of the gospel, by whose most godly and innocent lyfe, and by whose long and payneful imprisonments for the maintenance of the truth, the kingdom of God was not a little advanced; who also at last most valiantly and cheerfully gave his blood for the same. The 4 Day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1553.

my good mother, with my brothers and sisters, my Father John Travers, Thomas Sorrocalde, Lawrence and James Bradshaw, with their wives and families, &c. now and for ever. Amen.

I am at this present in prison sure enough for starting, to confirm that I have preached unto you: as I am ready, I thank God, with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouch me worthy of that honour. For good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit of God to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do: I heartily thank him for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory, as Paul saith; if we suffer with him we shall reign with him. Therefore be not faint hearted, but rather rejoice, at the least for my sake, which now am in the right and high way to heaven; for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Now will God make known his children; when the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff: but when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleansed from the chaff and known to be wheat. Gold when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious: so are God's children by the cross of affliction. Always God beginneth his judgment at his house. Christ and his apostles were in most misery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it after: so now God's children are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world; for surely great plagues of God hang over this realm.

Ye all know, there was never more knowledge of God, and less godly living and true serving of God.* It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly, and earnest prayer was not past upon. Preaching was but a pastime. The communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the flesh, was far out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, covetousness and uncleanness, were common every where, with swearing, drunkenness and idleness. God therefore now is come, as you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn† us with the world, he beginneth to punish us: as me for my carnal living. For as for my preaching, I am most

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* Reader: Is not this still more the case in our day? † Dampne.

certain it is and was God's truth, and I trust to give my life for it by God's grace, but because I lived not the gospel truly but outwardly, therefore doth he thus punish me; nay, rather in punishing, bless me. And indeed I thank him more of this prison, than of any parlour, yea than of any pleasure that ever I had; for in it I find God, my most sweet good God always. The flesh is punished, first to admonish us now heartily to live as we profess, secondly to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

Perchance you are infirmed and weakened of that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the old popish doctrine to come again and prevail; but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people; whether they will unfeignedly and simply hang on him and his word. So did he with the Israelites, bringing them into a desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where, I mean the wilderness, was want of all things in comparison of that which they had in Egypt.

Christ, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietness with him, but rather war; the world, saith he, shall rejoice, but ye shall mourn and weep, but your weeping shall be turned into joy; and therefore, happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted. They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beast's mark, I mean the Pope's shaven crown, who now with his shavelings rejoice; but woe unto them, for they shall be cast down, they shall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrow, but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy, with the drunkard, swearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard Sir John: for the mass will not bite them, neither make them blush as preaching would. Now may they do what they will, come devils to the church and go devils home, for no man must find fault. And they are glad of this: now have they their hearts' desire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone, but what followed? Forsooth when they cried, peace! all shall be well; then came God's vengeance, fire and brimstone from heaven, and burned up every mother's child: even so, dear mother, will it do to our papists.

Wherefore fear God; stick to his word, though all the world should* swerve from it. Die you must once, and when or how you cannot tell. Die therefore with Christ, suffer for serving him truly and after his word: for sure may we be, that of all deaths it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. This is the most safe kind of dying: we cannot doubt but that we shall go to heaven if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall die for his name's sake, God's word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think; for by God's grace I will drink *before you* of this cup if I be put to it.

I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and strengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuse it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, prison nor pleasure, I trust in God, shall be able to separate me, from my Lord God and his Gospel. In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me; then did you believe me; and will you not do so now, seeing I speak that which I trust by God's grace if need be, to verify with my life? Good mother I write before God, to you, as I have preached before him.

It is God's truth I have taught; it is that same infallible word whereof he hath said, heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass. The mass and such baggage as the false worshippers of God and enemies of Christ's Cross, the papists I say, have brought in again to poison the church of God withal, displeaseth God highly and is abominable in his sight. Happy may he be, which of conscience suffereth loss of life or goods in disallowing it. Come not at it. If God be God, follow him; if the mass be God, let them that will see it, hear or be present at it, go to the devil with it.

What is there as God ordained? His supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith that his body was broken for us, and his blood shed for pardon of our sins; but in the mass there is no receiving, but the priest keepeth all to himself alone. Christ saith, take, eat; no saith the priest, gape, peep. There is a sacrificing, yea killing of Christ again as much as they may. There is idolatry in worshipping the

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* Would.

outward sign of bread and wine; there is all in Latin, you cannot tell what he saith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained; wherefore my good mother come not at it.

Oh! will some say, it will hinder you if you refuse to come to mass, and to do as other do. But God will further you, be you assured, as you shall one day find; who hath promised to them that suffer hindrance or loss of any thing in this world, his great blessing here, and in the world to come, life everlasting. You shall be counted an heretic, but not of others than of heretics, whose praise is a dispraise.

You are not able to reason against the priests; but God will, that all they shall not be able to withstand you. Nobody will do so but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to salvation. Howbeit, you shall have with you, I doubt not, Father Traves and others, my brothers and sisters to go with you therein; but if they will not, I your son in God, I trust, shall not leave you an inch, but go before you; pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoice in my suffering, for it is for your sakes to confirm the truth I have taught.

Howsoever you do, beware this letter come not abroad but into Father Traves his hands; for if it should be known that I have pen and ink in the prison, then would it be worse with me.* Therefore to yourselves keep this letter, commending me to God and his mercy in Christ Jesus, who make me worthy for his name's sake, to give my life for his gospel and church sake. Out of the Tower of London, the 6th day of October, 1553.

My name I write not for causes, you know it well enough; like the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do *be obedient to the higher powers;* that is in *no point*, either *in hand or tongue, rebel;* but rather, if they command that, which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and *suffer whatsoever they shall do or say.* By patience possess your souls.

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* For all this caution, yet this letter came to the Earl of Derby's knowledge.—Fox, iii. 284. 309.

## No. 13*.

*To M. Warcuppe and his Wife,† Mrs. Wilkinson, and other of his godly Friends, with their Families.*

The same peace our Saviour Christ left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

The time I perceive is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known, I mean it will now shortly appear, who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein, for such will not for a little heat or sun burning, wither, but stiffly will stand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempests; and for as much as, my beloved in the Lord, I am persuaded of you, that ye be indeed the children of God, God's good ground, which groweth and will grow on, by God's grace, bringing forth fruit to God's glory after your vocations, as occasion shall be offered, burn the sun never so hot:‡ therefore I cannot but so signify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you, accordingly to go on forwards after your master Christ, not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather which you are come into and are like so to do; of this being most certain, that the end of your journey shall be pleasant and joyful, in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness, as cannot but swallow up the showers that ye now feel and are soused in, if ye often set it before your eyes, after Paul's counsel in the latter end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth of the second Epistle to

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* Fox iii. 322. Cov. 280.

† After Mrs. Warcup became a widow, among her other good deeds, she was instrumental in saving the life of Bp. Jewell, who afterwards proved a great light to the English Church. For when in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, fleeing away from Oxford, being on foot, he was so tired and spent, that he laid himself down upon the ground, half dead; Augustin Bernher, that good man, by mere chance, or rather by great providence, met with him in that forlorn condition, and setting him upon a horse, brought him to this lady, who refreshed and entertained him, and after conveyed him safe to London, whither he was going, in order to his flight beyond sea.—Strype, Eccl Mem. vol. iii. p. 1. 227.

‡ Whote.

the Corinthians. Read it I pray you and remember it often, as a restorative to refresh you, least ye faint in the way.

And besides this, set before you also, that though the weather be foul and storms grow a pace, yet ye go not alone, but other your brothers and sisters pad the same path, as St. Peter telleth us, and therefore company should cause you to be the more courageous and cheerful. But if ye had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me if even from the beginning, the best of God's friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going, I mean heaven, than ye now find and are like to do; except ye will with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry still by the way till the storms be over past, and then, either night will so approach that ye cannot travel, or the doors will be shut* before ye come, and so you shall lodge without, in wonderful evil lodgings, read Apocalypse xxii. Begin at Abel and come from him to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, the Patriarchs, Moses, David, Daniel, and all the saints in the old Testament, and tell me whether any of them found any fairer way than ye now find.

If the old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the new, and begin with Mary and Joseph, and come from them to Zacharias, Elizabeth, John Baptist, and every one of the apostles and evangelists, and search whether they all found any other way into the city we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

Besides these, if ye should call to remembrance the primitive church, ye should see so many to have given cheerfully their bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their journey, that there is no day in the year, but, I dare say, a thousand was the fewest that with great joy lost their homes here; but in the city they went unto, have found other manner of homes than man's mind is able to conceive. But if none of all these were, if ye had no company now to go with you as ye have me your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many other, I trust in God: if ye had none other of the fathers, patriarchs, good kings, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs and other holy saints and children of God, that in their journey to heavenward found as ye now find and are like to find, if ye go on forward as I trust ye will;

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* Sparred.

yet ye have your master and your captain Jesus Christ, the dear, darling, and only begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's pleasure, joy, and delectation; ye have him to go before you, no fairer way but much fouler, into this our city of Jerusalem. I need not, I trust, to rehearse what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come to his burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his journey, was no better but much worse than your's is now.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, be not so dainty as to look for that at God's hands, your dear father, which the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, saints, and his own son Jesus Christ, did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way, I trow, and fair weather also: now because we have loitered by the way, and not made the speed we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet father, hath overcast the weather and stirred up storms and tempests, that we might with more haste run out our race before night come, and the doors be shut. The devil standeth now at every inn door in his city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place, till the storms be overpast: not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticements; cast not your eyes on things that be present, how this man doth and how that man doth; but cast your eyes on the gleve ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on other that stand by and go this way or that way, but altogether he looketh on the gleve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before: even so should we do, leave off looking on those which will not run the race to heaven's bliss, by the path of persecution with us; and cast our eyes on the end of our race and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faster after.

He that shooteth will not cast his eyes in his shooting, on them that stand by or ride by the ways, I trow, but rather on the mark he shooteth at, for else he were like to win the wrong way. Even so

my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark ye shoot at, even Christ Jesus, who for the journey he set before him, did joyfully carry his cross, contemning the shame, and therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the throne of God. Let us follow him, for this did he that we should not be faint hearted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him; but if we deny him, surely he will deny us; for he that is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my gospel in this faithless generation, I will be ashamed of him before the angels of God in heaven. Oh, how heavy a sentence is this to all such as know the mass to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blasphemy and sacrilege against God and his Christ, as undoubtedly it is, and yet for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea some for advantage and gain, will honest it with their presence, dissembling both with God and man, as their own hearts and consciences do accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for the fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils,* to dissemble it or rather, as indeed it is, to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews,† lest by so doing they fall therein. Let them beware they play no wily beguile with themselves, as some do I fear me which go to mass, and because they worship not, nor kneel not, nor knock not as others do, but sit still in their pews,‡ therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

But, alas, if these men would look into their own consciences, there should they see that they are very dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others, for by this means the magistrates think them of their sort, they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation time, all mens eyes are set upon them to mark how they do. They think others hearing of such men going to mass, do see or enquire of their behaviour there. Oh if there were in those men that are so present at the mass, either love to God, or to their brethren, then would they for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admonish the people of their idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power

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* Nosethrelles. † Chap. vi. x. ‡ Pues.

to cast both soul and body into hell fire, they halt on both knees, they serve two masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his eye salve that they may see, that they which take not part with God, are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. Oh that they would read what St. John saith will be done to the fearful. The counsel given to the Church of Laodicea is good counsel to such.

But to return to you again, dearly beloved, be not ye ashamed of God's gospel. It is the power of God to salvation, to all those that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God shall make you able, knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear; and think it no small grace of God to suffer persecution for God's truth, for the spirit of God resteth upon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye shall see. Read 2 Thess. 1. and Hebrews 12. As the fire hurteth not gold but maketh it finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ. 1 Peter 1. The flail and wind hurt not the wheat, but cleanse it from the chaff. And ye, dearly beloved, are God's wheat, fear not therefore the flail, fear not the fanning wind, fear not the millstone, fear not the oven, for all these make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth. Soap, though it be black, soileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean; so doth the black cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his battledore. Because ye are God's sheep, prepare yourselves to the slaughter, always knowing that in the sight of the Lord, our death shall be precious. The souls under the altar, look for us to fill up their number; happy are we if God have so appointed us. Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast yourselves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, nill we, we must drink God's cup if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then, and at the first when it is full, lest peradventure if we linger, we shall drink at the length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his children; for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he visit the nations round about.

Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord.

No man shall touch you without his knowledge. When they touch you therefore, know it is to your weal; God thereby will work to make you like unto Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because ye shall not be damned with the world. Otherwise might he correct us, than in making us to suffer for righteousness sake; but this he doth because we are not of the world. Call upon his name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and keepeth you; I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him saith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds over the which the devil, and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against you, yet say with Job, if he kill me I will hope in him. Read the 91st Psalm, and pray for me your poor brother and fellow sufferer for God's gospel's sake, his name therefore be praised, and of his mercy may he make me and you, worthy to suffer with good conscience for his name's sake. Die once we must, and when we know not; happy are they whom God giveth to pay nature's debt; I mean to die for his sake.

Here is not our home, therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, Heb. 12. Apoc. 21. 22., the way thither to be by persecutions. The dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow even to the very gallows, if God so will, not doubting but that as he within three days rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time; that is when the trumpet shall blow, and the angel shall shoot, and the son of man shall appear in the clouds with innumerable saints and angels in majesty and great glory; then shall the dead arise, and some shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort yourselves with these words and pray for me for God's sake. E. Carcere, 19 Novemb. 1553.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 14*.

## TO HIS BELOVED IN THE LORD, W. P.

GRACE and peace from God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Dear brother, God most justly hath cast me now into a dungeon much better than I deserve; wherein I see no man but my keeper, nor can I see any except they come to me. Something in the earth my lodging is; which is an example and memorial of my earthly affections, which God I trust will mortify, and of my sepulchre, whereunto I trust my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean season he gives me patience, lively hope, and his good spirit. I pray you pray for me, for the prayer of the godly, if it be effectual, worketh much with God.

I thank God, my common disease† doth less trouble me now, than when I was abroad, which doth teach me the merciful providence of God towards me. Commend me to Mrs. Wilkinson, whom we pray God to strengthen in his truth and grace to the end. Use true and hearty prayer and you shall perceive God at length will declare himself to see, where now many think he sleepeth.

Out of the Tower, by the Lord's prisoner.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 15.‡

## TO FATHER TRAVES.

THE self same mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plenteously, though now through mine unthankfulness and wilful

* Fox, iii. 329. Cov. 305.

† This disease was a rheum with a feebleness of stomach, wherewith he was much troubled whilst he was at liberty. Cov.

‡ Fox, iii. 362.

obedience to the pleasure of this outward man, I neither feel, neither can be persuaded that I possess, yea if I shall truly write, I in manner pass not upon the same, so far am I fallen, the Lord help me, the same mercy, &c. I say, I wish unto you as I can, with all increase of godliness, hypocritically with my pen and mouth, beseeching you in your earnest prayers to God, to be an earnest suitor unto God for the which am fallen into such a security, and even an hardness of heart, that neither I sorrow my state, neither with any grief or fear of God's objection do write this; before the Lord which knoweth the hearts of all men I lie not.

Consider for Christ's sake therefore, good Father Traves, my necessity though I myself do it not, and pray for me, that God cast me not off, as I deserve most justly. For where I ought to have well proceeded in God's school, by reason of the time, I confess it to my shame, I am so far gone back, as alas, if shame were in me I might be ashamed to write it, but much more to write it, and think it not, such is the reward of unthankfulness. For where God wrought the restitution of the great thing you know of, the which benefit should bind me to all obedience; alas Father Traves I am too unthankful, I find no will in my heart, though by my writing it will be hard to persuade you, either to be thankful, either to begin a new life in all things to mortify this outward man, and heartily to be well content to serve the Lord in spirit and verity, and withstand mine affections; and especially my beastly sensuality in meat and drink, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you, but now through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen so, that a whole legion of spirituum malorum, possesseth me.

The Lord, whom I only with my mouth, my heart still abiding both in hardness and wilfulness, call upon, deliver me and keep me. And for God's sake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of restitution, pray to the Lord that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will. Amen.

I thank you for your cheese, and so doth Father Latimer as unknown; for I did give it him, and he saith he did never eat better cheese, and so I dare say he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you; yea, God so moveth him towards me, that his desire is to have me come and dwell with him whensoever I will,

and welcome. This do I write yet once more to occasion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, which by all means sheweth nothing but most high love to me; and I again a very obstinate rebel. Pray therefore for me, in haste.

The sinful,
JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 16.*

*To his godly Friends, G. and N., encouraging them to prepare themselves to the Cross, and patiently to endure afflictions for God's Cause and his Holy Gospel.*

The God of all mercies and the father of all consolation, shew unto you more and more the riches of his mercies in Christ Jesus our Lord, and grant you a lively faith to apprehend and pull unto yourselves the same, to your everlasting comfort. Amen.

Because my mind will not let me rest to think upon, and as it were to see some storms like to fall more fully than any yet we have felt, I should rather say ye have felt, and are like to feel, if ye continue to confess christianity, as ye have begun; I thought it my duty to admonish you, that therefore ye should not be dismayed and think it any strange thing.

For undoubtedly, you confessing Christ according to the truth taught you, yea received of you, though trouble come, the same shall be so far from hurting you, that it shall profit you exceedingly; making you thereby like to him which for your sakes, suffered much greater sorrow than all men can sustain; as well that your sorrows and afflictions, whatsoever they be that shall come unto you, should be sanctified in his cross, and that which he suffered; as also that

* Cov. 363.

in him ye might have both example how to order yourselves in the cross, and how soon, shortly, and gloriously the end of your cross will be. Therefore, I say, be not dismayed in that the cross cannot but conform and make us like unto Christ, not simply of itself, but by God's spirit, which maketh it his chief mean thereto; first in putting us in mind of our corruption received of Adam, the cause of all care; then by occasioning us to remember as well our privy hid sins, as also our more manifest evils; that we therethrough might be provoked to repentance and asking of mercy, the which undoubtedly God will give us for his Christ's sake, and thereto also his holy spirit to sanctify us, if we ask the same.

Now this spirit will not cease, more and more both to mortify the old man with his desires, and also to renew and repair the new man daily, with augmentation and increase; so that at length we shall be made so like to Christ that we cannot but be coupled unto him; I mean not by faith as now we be, but even in deed, leaving here behind us, with Elias, our cloak the flesh, which God one day will call and quicken again, to be like unto the glorious and immortal body of his son Jesus Christ our Lord, after that it hath suffered and slept as his hath done, the afflictions and time which God hath already appointed.

My dear brethren and sisters, this is most certain that the afflictions and crosses which ye shall suffer, God hath already appointed for you, so that they are not in the power, choice, and will of your and his enemies. If ye would fly them ye cannot, but will ye, nill ye, needs must ye have them. If ye will not carry them in the love of God, ye shall carry them in his displeasure. Therefore cast your care on him who careth for you, and hath counted all the hairs of your heads, so that one shall not perish, if that ye commit yourselves to his ordering; wherelse your heads and bodies, yea souls too shall perish, if that ye withdraw yourselves as unwilling to take his cup and to drink of it.

Not that I would have you to thrust yourselves, headlong and rashly, to take or pull unto you trouble; or that I would not have you to use such honest and lawful means, as ye may in the fear of God and with good conscience, to avoid the cross and give place to evil; but that I would have you willing to put forth your hand to take it,

when God offereth it, in such sort as with good conscience ye cannot escape. Then take it, kiss it, and thank God for it; for it is even a very sacrament that God loveth you, as he saith, whom I love, them do I chastise. And if ye be not partakers of correction, surely ye are no children; but if he once chastise you, if that ye kiss the rod, verily he will cast the rod into the fire, and call you and kiss you as the mother doth her child, when she perceiveth the child, to take in good part the correction. But why do I compare God your Father's love, to a mother, in that it far passeth it. For saith he, though it be possible that a natural mother should forget the child of her womb, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord, our good God and Father, through Christ. Though he seem angry towards evening, yet in the morning we shall find him well pleased, if in Christ we come to him, and cry, Abba! dear Father! help us, and as thou hast promised, tempt us not further than thou wilt make us able to bear.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, be of good comfort, be of good comfort in the Lord. Confess him and his truth and fear not prison, loss of goods or life. Fear rather that prison, out of the which there is no deliverance; fear rather the loss of those goods which last for ever; fear rather the loss of the life which is eternal, whereunto ye are called, and the way by which God will bring you to it, in that ye certainly know not whether it will be by prison, fire, halter, &c. whensoever these come, as I said before, let them not dismay you, nor seem strange to you. For no small number of God's children are gone that way, and we are a good company here together, which are ready to follow the same way through God's grace, if God so will.

I beseech you make you ready, and go with us; or rather be ready that when we come, we may go with you. The journey is but short, though it be unpleasant to the flesh. Perchance if we should die in our beds on a corporal malady, it would be much longer and also more painful; at the least in God's sight it cannot be so precious and gainful, as I know this kind of death is; whereto I exhort you to prepare yourselves, mine own dear hearts in the bowels and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose tuition, grace, governance, and protection, I heartily commend you all, and beseech you that ye

would do the like unto me in your hearty prayers. Out of the Tower of London, 1554.

By your own, to live in the Lord for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 17.*

## TO CERTAIN GODLY PERSONS TO THE SAME EFFECT.†

Gracious God, and most merciful father, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dearly beloved son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and holy spirit, to counsel, comfort, and guide us in all our cogitations, words, and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace, for ever. Amen.

In my last letter, ye might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than now I have partly learned. But my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than before I have told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which I am sure ye have learned. I appeal to both your consciences, whether herein I speak truth, as well of my telling, though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me, as also of your learning.

Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you that which ye have learned by others, and by them which suffered this day,‡ ye might learn, if already ye had not learned, that life and honour is not to be set by, more than God's commandment. They in no point, for all that ever their ghostly fathers could do, having Dr. Death to take their part, would consent or seem to consent to the popish mass

* Fox iii. 334. Cov. 366. † Most probably to the same individuals as the last.

‡ The Lady Jane Grey, and her husband the Lord Guildford, were beheaded that day, viz. Feb. 12, 1554. Cov. 367. Burnett vol. ii. 424.

and papistical God, otherwise than in the days of our late king,* they had received; and this their faith they confessed with their deaths, to their great glory and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same.

Wherefore I beseech you both to consider it, as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them if God so will. Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all God's children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear ye must open the eyes of your mind, of faith I should have said as Moses did, which set more by trouble with God's people, than by the riches of Egypt and Pharaoh's court. Your house, home, and goods, yea life and all that ever ye have, God hath given to you as love tokens, to admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love, whether ye set more by him than by his tokens or no. If ye for his tokens' sake, that is, for your home, house, goods, yea life, will go with the world lest ye should lose them; then be assured, your love, as he cannot but espy it to be a strumpet's love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember that he which will save his life, shall lose it, if Christ be true; but he which adventureth, yea loseth his life for the gospel's sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye both know that the way to salvation is not the broad way which many run in, but the strait way which few now walk in?

Before persecution came, men might partly have stood in doubt, by the outward state of the world with us, although by God's word it was plain, whether was the high way, for there were as many pretended the gospel as popery; but now the sun is risen, and the wind bloweth, so that the corn which hath not taken fast root cannot nor will not abide; and therefore easily ye may see the strait way by the small number that passeth through it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Christ's sake, who yet gave his life for our sakes? We now are Gergesites, that would rather lose Christ than our porkets. A faithful wife is never tried so to be, but when she rejecteth and withstandeth wooers. A faithful christian is then found so to be, when his faith is assaulted.

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* Edward VI.

If we be not able, I mean if we will not forsake this world for God's glory and gospel's sake, trow ye that God will make us able or give us a will to forsake it for nature's sake? Die ye must once, and leave all ye have, God knoweth how soon and when, will ye or will ye not. And seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now do it for God's sake?

If ye go to mass and do as the most part doth, then may ye live at rest and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it, then shall ye go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea lose your life also. But my dearly beloved, open the eyes of your faith, and see how short a thing this life is, even a very shadow and smoke. Again, see how intolerable the punishment of hell fire is, and that endless. Last of all look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath prepared for all them, world without end, which love either lands or goods for his name's sake. And then do ye reason thus; if we go to mass the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children that they may live hereafter; yet shall we displease God, fall into his hands, which is horrible to hypocrites, and be in wonderful hazard of falling down from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

Again, we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world, and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life; yea our home and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives be, through many casualties, and when God is angry with us, he can send always when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into care for our own sakes, which will not come into some little trouble for his sake.

On this sort reason with yourselves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, if so be ye purpose not to forsake God, that God will make you able to bear his cross, that therein ye shall rejoice. Faithful is God, saith Paul, who will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, yea he will give you an outscape in the cross, which shall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you

worthy this honour to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly cast most grievous plagues upon you, and now he will correct you with that rod whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that for ever ye may reign with him.

Suffer yourselves therefore now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow, that which godly ye have of long professed. Oh how would he triumph if he could win his purpose? Oh how would the papists triumph against God's gospel in you? Oh how would you confirm them in their wicked popery? Oh how would the poor children of God be discomforted, if now ye should go to mass and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth?

Hath God delivered you from the sweat to serve him so? Hath God miraculously restored you to health from your grievous agues for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world and good things all the days of your life hitherto; and now of equity will ye not receive at his hands and for his sake some evil? God forbid, I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your children into his hands; give to God your goods, bodies and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them unto you. Say with Job, God hath given and God hath taken away, his name be praised for ever. Cast your care upon him, I say, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, that thou wouldest be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy gospel, to thy glory and our eternal salvation. Amen. Pray for me, and I by God's grace will do the same for you.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 18.*

## TO THE SAME PERSONS.

God's mercy in Christ I wish you to feel, my dear brother, with my faithful sister your wife now and for ever. Amen.

Having this occasion, I could not but write something, as well to put myself in remembrance of my duty to godwards for you both, in thankfulness and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; I dare not say in thankfulness for me; not that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderful great and sweet mercies towards me and upon me in Christ his Son; but because I have not deserved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at least my conscience doth accuse me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you, as both my vocation and your deserts required, to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of; and with trembling and fear to work out your salvation, that is in the fear of God to give yourselves to great vigilance in prayer for the increase of faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conversation, not only in works and words, but also, in thoughts; because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth as in God's sight. I have, I say, not only not done this, but also have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, fasting, telling and doing, so that woe to me for giving you such offence.

Partly for this cause, dear brother and sister, God hath cast me and keepeth me sure, that I might repent me and turn to him, and that ye might also by this correction upon me, be more diligent to redress these things and others, if they in your conscience do accuse you.

My dearly beloved, heavy is God's anger fallen upon us all; doleful is the day. Now hath Anti-Christ all his power again, now is Christ's gospel trod under foot, now is God's people a derision and

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* Cov. 370.

a prey for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of all plagues fallen, the want of God's word; and all these we have, yea I alone, have justly deserved. Oh that as I write, I alone, I could with David, and with Jonas, in heart say so. But I do not, I do not, I see not how grievously I have sinned, and how great a misery is fallen for mine unthankfulness for God's word, for mine hypocrisy in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of God's word, for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not living of it thoroughly as it requireth, &c.

I will speak nothing of my manifest evils, for they are known to you well enough. Dear brother and sister, with me say ye the like, for your own parts; and with me join your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Christ's sake beseech him to be merciful unto us and to pardon us. Oh, good Father, it is we that have deserved the taking away of thy word, it is we that have deserved these thy just plagues fallen upon us, we have done amiss, we have dealt unjustly with thy gospel, we have procured thy wrath, and therefore just art thou in punishing us, just art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miserable.

But good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whose justice is such that you will not punish the poor souls of this realm, which yet have not thus sinned against thee as we have done, for many yet never heard thy word, for our trespasses; and whose mercy is so great that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Christ's sake, if we repent and believe; grant us we beseech thee true repentance and faith, that we having obtained pardon for our sins, may through thy Christ, get deliverance from the tyranny of Anti-Christ now oppressing us.

Oh, good Father, which hast said that the sceptre of the wicked should not long lie upon and over the just, lest they put forth their hands to iniquity also; make us just, we pray thee in Christ's name, and cut asunder the cords of them that hate Sion; let not the wicked people say where is there God? Thou, our God, art in heaven; and doest whatsoever it pleaseth thee upon earth. Oh, that thou wouldest, in the mean whiles, before thou do deliver us, that, I say, thou wouldest open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, and all other that shall come whatsoever they be, publick or

private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand, and that justly and mercifully; justly because we have and do deserve them, not only by our birth poison, still sticking and working in us, but also by our former evil life past, which by this punishment and all other punishments, thou wouldest have us to call to our remembrance and to set before us, that thou mightest put them from before thee; whereas they stand, so long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance.

Mercifully, O Lord God, dost thou punish, in that thou dost not correct to kill, but to amend, that we might repent our sins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Christ, and to begin to suffer for righteousness' sake; to be part of thy house, whereat thy judgment beginneth; to be partakers of the afflictions of thy Church and thy Christ, that we might be partakers of the glory of the same. To weep here, that we might rejoice elsewhere; to be judged in this world that we might with thy saints judge hereafter the world; to suffer with Christ, that we might reign with him; to be like to Christ in shame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus find rest elsewhere; rest, I say, and such a rest as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive.

Oh, that our eyes were open to see this; that the cross cometh from thee to declare thy justice and thy mercy, and hereto that we might see how short a time the time of suffering is; how long a time the time of rejoicing is to them that suffer here; but to them that will not, how long and miserable a time is appointed and prepared; a time without time in eternal woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us dear Father, and give more sight in soul to see this gear, and how that all thy dearest children have carried the cross of grievous afflictions in this life, in whose company do thou place us, and such a cross lay upon us as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our salvation in Christ, for whose sake we pray thee to shorten the days of this our great misery fallen upon us most justly, and in the mean season give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal consolation. Amen, Amen, Amen.

And thus dear hearts, I have talked, methinks, a little while with

you, or rather we have all talked with God. Oh that God would give us his spirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloved, pray for it, as for yourselves so for me, and that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy to suffer with a good conscience for his name's sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you. This 20 of December, from him whom by this bringer ye shall learn. I pray you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Christ, for one day in heaven we shall meet and rejoice together for evermore. Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

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THIS persecuted martyr remained in the Tower till the following Easter Eve, when he was sent to the King's Bench Prison, in Southwark.* With the keeper of this prison he was in such good credit that he was permitted to go into London in the evenings, in order to visit a sick person in the Steel-yard† whenever he pleased, and that without a keeper, upon his own promise to return before the hour appointed. And once during the summer time the same keeper gave him permission to ride into Oxfordshire, in order to visit a merchant of his acquaintance who resided there; and a horse and other preparations, and a companion for the journey were provided, but he was prevented from going by illness.

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* See Appendix, Note (G). † In Thames Street.

By the kindness of the same individual, another privilege, which in their circumstances must have been invaluable, was granted to Bradford, and the martyr Lawrence Saunders, who was at the same time confined in the Marshalsea. The backs of the two prisons joined together, where they were permitted to meet and confer at their own pleasure, and might have easily made their escape if they had been inclined; but as to which, Bradford was so indifferent, that when one of his old friends and acquaintance came and asked him what he would do, and where he would go if he petitioned for his liberty; he replied, that it was a matter of little anxiety to him whether he went out or not; but that if he did he would marry, and remain still in England, and spend his time in teaching the people as opportunities might offer.

Farrar,* Bishop of St. Davids, who had been a prisoner in the King's Bench, being strongly urged by the papists about the end of Lent, to consent to receive the sacrament at the ensuing Easter in one kind only, after much persuasion had yielded to their solicitations. It was so ordered by divine providence, that on Easter Even, the day before the bishop

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* See Appendix, Note (H).

was to have made this sacrifice of principle, Bradford was brought into the prison, when he was made the instrument of rescuing the prelate from his threatened disgrace; who immediately revoked his promise, and ever afterwards steadily refused to contaminate himself with any of the errors of the Church of Rome. So effectually did it please God to work by this holy martyr; and such an instrument was he in the Church of Christ, that few knew him who did not esteem him as a precious jewel, and a true minister of the gospel.

The following letters appear to have been written at this period:—

## No. 19.*

## TO THE HONOURABLE LORD RUSSELL,

Now *Earl of Bedford, being* then *in Trouble for the Verity of God's Gospel.*

The everlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jesu Christ, bless your good lordship, with all manner of heavenly blessings, in the same Christ our only comfort and hope. Amen.

Praised be God our father which hath vouched you worthy, as of faith in his Christ, so of his cross for the same. Magnified be his

* Fox iii. 321. Cov. 275. and see No. 11.

holy name, who as he hath delivered you from one cross, so he hath made you willing, I trust, and ready to bear another, when he shall see his time to lay it upon you. For these are the most singular gifts of God, given as to few, so to none else but to those few, which are most dear in his sight.

Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greatest gifts of God, yea it is the greatest itself that we enjoy, for by it, as we be justified and made God's children, so are we temples and possessors of the holy spirit, yea of Christ also, Ephes. iv. and of the father himself, John xiv. By faith we drive the devil away, 1 Pet. v. 9. we overcome the world, 1 John, v. 4. and are already citizens of heaven and fellows with God's dear saints.

But who is able to reckon the riches that this faith bringeth with her unto the soul she sitteth upon? No man, nor angel. And therefore, as I said, of all God's gifts, she may be set in the top, and have the uppermost seat. The which thing if then considered, in that she cometh alonely from God's own mercy seat, by the hearing, not of mass or mattins, diriges, or such draffe; but of the word of God, in such a tongue as we can and do understand, as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or seeing any thing which might cast her down, for then they fall also; so would they with no less care, read and hear God's holy word, joining thereto most earnest and often prayer, as well for the more and better understanding, as for the loving, living, and confessing of the same, maugre the head of the devil, the world, our flesh, reason, goods, possessions, carnal friends, wife, children, and very life here, if they should pull us back to hearken to their voice and counsel, for more quiet, sure, and longer use of them.

Now, notwithstanding this excellency of faith, in that we read the apostle to match therewith, yea, as it were, to prefer suffering persecution for Christ's sake, Phil. i., I trow no man will be so fond as to think otherwise, but that I and all God's children have cause to glorify and praise God, who hath vouchsafed you worthy so great a blessing. For though the reason or wisdom of the world, think of the cross according to their reach, and according to their present sense, and therefore fly from it as from a most great ignominy and shame; yet God's scholars have learned otherwise to think of the

cross, that it is the frame house, in the which God frameth his children like to his son Christ; the furnace that fineth God's gold; the high way to heaven; the suit and livery that God's servants are served withal; and the earnest beginning of all consolation and glory.

For they, I mean God's scholars, as your lordship is I trust, do enter into God's sanctuary, lest their feet slip. They look not, as beasts do, on things present only, but on things to come, and so have they as present to faith, the judgment and glorious coming of Christ; like as the wicked have now their worldly wealth wherein they wallow, and will wallow, till they tumble headlong into hell; where are torments too terrible and endless. Now they follow the fiend as the bear doth the train of honey, and the sow the swillings, till they be brought into the slaughter-house, and then they know that their prosperity hath brought them to perdition. Then cry they, Woe, Woe, we went the wrong way; we counted these men, I mean such as you be, that suffer for God's sake, loss of goods, friends and life, whom they shall see endued with rich robes of righteousness, crowns of most pure precious gold, and palms of conquest in the goodly glorious palace of the lamb, where is eternal joy, felicity, &c., we counted, will they then say, these men but fools and mad men; we took their conditions to be but curiosity &c. But then will it be too late, then the time will be turned, laughing shall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoicing. Read Wisdom ii. iii. iv. v.

Therefore, as before I have said, great cause have I to thank God which hath vouched you worthy of this most bountiful blessing; much more then you have cause, my good lord, so to be, I mean thankful. For look upon your vocation, I pray you, and tell me how many noblemen, earl's sons, lords, knights, and men of estimation, hath God in this realm of England dealt thus withal? I dare say you think not that you have deserved this. Only God's mercy in his Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremiah's time on Abimelech, in Ahab's time on Obadiah, in Christ's time on Joseph of Arimathea, in the apostles time on Sergius Paulus, and the Queen of Ethiopia's chamberlain.

Only now be thankful and continue, continue, continue, my good lord, continue to confess Christ. Be not ashamed of him before men, for then will not he be ashamed of you. Now will he try you;

stick fast unto him and he will stick fast by you; he will be with you in trouble and deliver you. But then must you cry unto him, for so it proceedeth; he cried unto me and I heard; I was with him in trouble &c.

Remember Lot's wife which looked back; remember Francis Spira;* remember that none is crowned, but he that striveth lawfully. Remember that all you have is at Christ's commandment. Remember he lost more for you than you can lose for him. Remember you love not that which is lost for his sake, for you shall find much more here and elsewhere. Remember you shall die, and when, where, and how, you cannot tell. Remember the death of sinners is most terrible. Remember the death of God's saints is precious in his sight. Remember the multitude goeth the wide way, which windeth to woe. Remember that the strait gate, which leadeth to glory, hath but few travellers. Remember Christ biddeth you strive to enter in thereat. Remember he that trusteth in the Lord, shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his enemies.

Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbered. Be certain your good father hath appointed bounds, over the which the devil dare not look. Commit yourself to him; he is, hath been, and will be your keeper; cast your care on him and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope and mark to prick at; let him be your pattern to walk by; let him be your example to follow; give him as your heart so your hand; as your mind so your tongue; as your faith so your feet; and let his word be your candle to go before you, in all matters of religion.

Blessed is he that walketh not to these popish prayers, nor standeth at them, nor sitteth at them; glorify God in both soul and body. He that gathereth not with Christ scattereth abroad. Use prayer, look for God's help, which is at hand to them that ask and hope thereafter assuredly. In which prayer I heartily desire your lordship to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly, God therefore be praised, so we look to go before you, hoping that you will follow, if God so will, according to your daily prayer; thy

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* See Appendix, Note (I.)

will be done on earth, &c. The good spirit of God always guide your lordship unto the end. Amen.

Your lordship's own for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 20*.

## TO THE LORD RUSSELL.

The eternal mercies of God in his dear son, our saviour Jesus Christ, be more and more felt, and heartily perceived of you, my good lord, to your endless joy and comfort. Amen.

Because your lordship looketh not for thanks of me, for God's benefits ministered by you; and in few words I cannot duly declare that I would do, I will omit the same; praying God, our dear father, in the day of his retribution, to remember it; and in the mean season to assist, counsel, and comfort you, as his child for ever in all things.

I doubt not but that you have that childlike opinion, yea persuasion of his goodness in Christ towards you; than which blessing, my good lord, none is greater given to man upon earth. For assuredly he that hath it, is the very child of God, elect before all time in Christ Jesu our Lord, and therefore shall enjoy everlasting felicity, although he be here afflicted and tossed in trouble and temptation to his trial, that when he is found faithful he may receive the crown of glory.

The only thing that discerneth the child of God from the wicked, is this faith, trust, and hope, in God's goodness, through Christ; the which I trust you have; God increase it in you and make you thankful. Certainly such as enjoy it be happy; if they be happy, and that happiness is not where any thing is to be desired, they

* Cov. 278.

cannot but for ever be most assured of perseverance to salvation, for if they fall, the Lord putteth under his hand that they shall not perish; they are beloved of Christ which loveth them to the very end.

God for his mercy sake in Christ, open more and more your eyes to see this his sweetness in Christ, to make you secure in him, and awake the flesh from her security; to be vigilant and heedful how you may most behave yourself, in thankful obedience to God, and careful help and service to his people; that all your whole life may tend to this, how by example and otherwise you may do good to others, and still confirm his true service and religion by your constancy. Wherein if you continue to the end, you shall receive an incorruptible crown of immortal and unspeakable glory; but if for because of God's tarrying, which is only to prove you, you relent, which God forbid, thinking it enough in heart to serve God, and in body to do as may make most to your commodity temporally, as many do; then undoubtedly your standing hitherto, wherefore God's holy name be praised, shall make much more for the papistical kingdom and glory thereof, than if you had never done as you have done.

Whereof, my good Lord, be not weary nor unthankful, for with the godly, and in the Church of God, you are and shall be had, as a worthy member of Christ; worthy of double honour, because God of his goodness hath vouched you worthy without your deserts. In the one, that is for lands and possessions, you have companions many; but in the other, my good Lord, you are, *A per se A*, with us to our comfort and joy unspeakable, so long as you continue, as I trust you will do to the end; and to our most heavy sorrow, which God forbid, if you should relent in any point.

Therefore, I beseech your Lordship, in the bowels and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to persevere and continue to the end. He that hath not tempted you hitherto above your strength, will continue so to the end. If for a time he hide his face from you, yet he doth it but for a moment, to make you the more heartily to cry to him, and surely he will hear you; not only when you are in crying, but also whilst you are in thinking how to cry; he is with you in trouble and will indeed deliver you. The longer he tarrieth, the

more pleasantly and comfortably will he appear. Only believe and look for his help and you shall have peace, such peace as the world knoweth not, nor can know; the which God give us a true feeling of, and then we shall not be grieved with afflictions, but rather rejoice in them, because they are but exercises and trials of faith, to the increase of faith and patience, with many godly virtues, &c.

As concerning the number and charges of us here, which this day I heard your lordship desired to understand, this is, so much as I know, that we are four in number together, whose names this bearer shall tell you; the charges of the least is seven shillings a week. There are five others, whose charges be not so great, but as they will themselves; I mean they pay daily as they take, and that to the uttermost; these were never ministers. I trust there is no urgent need in any of us all, and, I think, least in myself, through God, my father's, providence, the which I have and do daily wonderfully feel, his name therefore be praised.

Other things I would write, but because they may be more safely told by this bringer, I have omitted the same for that purpose. God of his goodness ever be with you and keep your lordship to the very end, as his dear child. Amen, Amen.*

Your humble to command,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 21.†

*To certain Men, who maintained the heresy of the Pelagians and Papists concerning men's free will; which, upon occasions, were then prisoners with him in the King's Bench.*

The good spirit of God, which is the spirit of truth, and guide to God's children, be with us all, and lead us into all truth. Amen.

* See Appendix, Note (K.)

† Cov. 650.

Hitherto I have oftentimes resorted unto you, my friends as I thought, and by all means sought to do you good, even to mine own charges and hindrance. But now I see it happeneth otherwise; and therefore I am purposed, till I may know more than I do, to absent *myself* from you, but not *my help;* and by these letters to supply that, which by mouth *patiently* you cannot abide to hear.

You report me to my face that I am a great slander to the church of God; which may be two ways understood, that is, by *living* and *doctrine.* But as for *living*, you yourselves, I thank God therefore, gave testimony with me. In *doctrine* therefore you mean it.

Now, in that there be may parts of the doctrine of Christ, I trow you mean not generally, but particularly; for you in generality have divers times given your commendations on my behalf, both to my face and behind my back; for the which I humbly praise my God, through Christ. In particularity therefore, you mean that I am a slander; which, as far as I know, is only in this to youwards, that I believe and affirm the salvation of God's children to be so certain, that they shall assuredly enjoy the same.

You say it hangeth partly upon our perseverance to the end; and I say it hangeth only and altogether upon God's grace in Christ, and not upon our perseverance in any point; for then were grace no grace. You will and do in words deny our perseverance to be any cause, but yet in deed you do otherwise. For if perseverance be not a cause, but only God's grace in Christ, the whole and only cause of salvation; then the cause, that is to say, grace remaining, the thing, that is to say, salvation, cannot but remain also.

Of which thing, if with the scriptures you would make perseverance an effect or fruit, then could you not be offended at the truth; but say as it saith, that the salvation of God's children is so certain, that they shall never finally perish, the Lord putting his hand under them, that if they fall, yet they shall not lie still. For whom he loveth he leaveth not, but loveth them unto the end. So that perseverance is proper to them, and doth discern them from hypocrites, and such as seem to other, and to themselves also sometimes, that they be God's children.

Which if they once were in deed, then as St. John saith, they should not sin the sin to death; neither should they go out of God's

church, but as Paul saith, should persevere to the end. Now to be God's child, is no less, in all points above the power of man; than to be man's child, is above our own power; but so much it passeth our ability in all points to be God's child, by how much this dignity is greater.

Again, once God's child indeed, and God's child for ever; that is, finally shall not he that is so, perish eternally, if that, God our father be both of good will infinite, and also of power accordingly; and that the seed of God which remaineth in his children, can keep them from sinning, I mean to death, for otherwise they sin; and therefore pray daily, forgive us our debts, &c.

Moreover, God's children be under grace, and not under the law, and therefore sin shall not damn them. For where no law is, there is no transgression, transgression I say to final damnation, for the new covenant of God is, never to remember their sins, but to give them such hearts and minds, that, as they naturally lust and labour to do that is evil; so their inward man renewed striveth to the contrary, and at the length shall prevail; because HE is stronger that is in them, than he that is in the world. And St. Paul saith, who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect, in that God absolveth them for Christ's sake, of whom they are kept? So that it is not possible for them to perish, in respect of their pastor, who is faithful over God's people.

This certainty and assurance, whoso feeleth in himself, by the testimony of God's spirit, indeed and of truth, the same is happy for ever, and cannot but, as he hopeth he shall be like to Christ in his coming, so desire it, and purifying himself in all purity, so far will he be from carnal liberty; and as the elect of God, he will endue and apparel himself daily with the apparel of the elect, using prayer night and day, which is another property of God's children.

To this certainty, all the creatures of God call us, concerning their creation and use. This assurance, God's first commandment requireth, under pain of damnation; the gospel of God and all his promises; the sacraments and the substance of them, which is Christ Jesus, our Saviour, do above all things, require it of every one that is baptised, and brought into God's church. Nothing else doth

God so require of us, as thus to be persuaded of him, for out of it floweth all godliness to God and man.

So that it cannot be but they take Satan's part; which go about to let or hinder this certainty, in themselves and in others. The which thing, in that you do indeed, howsoever you mean; I cannot but as I have done often before, admonish you of it eftsoons, that your bloods may be on your own heads, if you persevere in your obstinacy, and that you do it obstinately and not ignorantly. From the which I beseech Almighty God to deliver you. Amen.

1 January. JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 22.*

## TO CERTAIN MEN,

*Not rightly persuaded in the most true, comfortable, and necessary Doctrine of God's Holy Election and Predestination.*

Grace, mercy, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and living, from God the eternal father of all consolation, through the bloody death of our alone and full redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty and lively working and power of the holy spirit the comforter, I wish unto you now and for ever. Amen.

Although I look hourly for officers to come and have me to execution, yet can I not but attempt to write something unto you, my dearly beloved, as always you have been howsoever you have taken me, to occasion you the more to weigh the things wherein some controversy hath been amongst us, especially the article and doctrine of predestination, whereof I have written a little treatise; therein, as briefly shewing my faith, so answering the enormities

* Cov. 471.

gathered of some, to slander the same necessary and comfortable doctrine. That little piece of work I commend unto you, as a thing whereof I doubt not to answer to my comfort, before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ; and therefore I heartily pray you and every of you, for the tender mercies of God in Christ, that you would not be rash to condemn things unknown, lest God's woe should fall upon you, for calling good evil and evil good.

For the great love of God in Christ, cavil not at things that be well spoken, nor construe not things to the evil part, when ye have occasion otherwise. Do not suppose that any man, by affirming predestination, as in that book I have truly set it forth according to God's word, and the consent of Christ's church, either to seek carnality, or to set forth matter of desperation. Only by the doctrine of it, I have taught, as to myself, so to others, a certainty of salvation; a setting up of Christ only; an exaltation of God's grace, mercy, righteousness, truth, wisdom, power and glory, and a casting down of man and all his power, that he that glorieth may glory only and altogether, and continually in the Lord.

Man consisteth of* two parts, the soul and the body, and every man of God hath, as a man would say, two men, an outward or old man, and an inward or new man. The devil's drift is, to bring the one into a carnality, and the other into a doubt; and so to despair, and hatred of God; but God for remedy hereof, hath ordained his word; which is divided into two parts; the one is a doctrine which demandeth of us our duty, but giveth no power thereto; the other is a doctrine which not so much demandeth as giveth. The former is called the law, which hath his promises, conditionals, and comminations or threats, accordingly; the other is called the gospel, or rather the free promises hanging not on conditions on our behalf, but simply on God's verity and mercy, although they require conditions, but not as hanging thereon; of which promises the gospel may well be called a publication.

The former, that is, the law with her promises and comminations, tells man what he is, and shews him what he can do; the latter, that is, the gospel and free promises, tell and set forth Christ, and

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* On.

what mercy at God's hand through Christ, we have offered and given unto us. The former part serveth to keep the old man from carnality and security, and to stir him up to diligence and solicitude; the latter part serveth how to keep the new and inward man from doubting and despair, and to bring us into an assured certainty and quietness with God, through Christ.

The old man* and the field he resteth in, may not be sown with any other seed than is agreeable to the former doctrine; the new man and the field he resteth in, may not be sown with any other, than is agreeing to the latter doctrine. By this means man shall be kept from carnality, and from desperation also, and brought into diligence and godly peace of conscience. It is forbidden in the old law, to sow two kinds of seeds in one field, to wear linsey wolsey petticoats, or to eat beasts that did not cleave the hoofs. God grant us to be wise husbandmen, to sow according as I have said; God grant us to be wise tailors, to cut our coats for two men of one whole cloth, as is declared. God grant us to be clean beasts, to cleave the hoofs accordingly, that is, to give the old man meat, meet for the mowers, that is, the law with the appurtenances, conditionals, promises, and comminations; and to give to the new man the gospel, and sweet free promises, as appertaineth; and then doubtless we shall walk in the right high way unto eternal life, that is in Christ Jesu, the end of the law and the fulfilling of the promises, in whom they be yea and, Amen.

If this my poor advice be observed, my dear brethren in the Lord, I doubt not but all controversies, for predestination, original sin, free will, &c. shall so cease, that there shall be no breach of love, nor suspicion amongst† us; which God grant for his mercy's sake. I am persuaded of you, that you fear the Lord, and therefore I love you, and have loved you in him, my dear hearts, though otherwise you have taken it without cause on my part given, so far as I know. For hitherto I have not suffered any copy of the treatise above specified to go abroad, because I would suppress all occasions so far as might be.

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* See this subject pursued and more fully illustrated in No. 25.

† Emonges.

Now am I going before you to my God and your God, to my father and your father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my home and your home. I go before, but you shall come after, sooner or later. Howbeit I could not but before I go, signify thus much unto you, as I have done, that you might see my love, and thereby be occasioned to increase in love, and learn rather to bear than break.

My poor and most dear sister to me that ever I had, with whom I leave this letter, I commend unto you all and to every of you, beseeching you and heartily praying you in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, to care for her, as for one which is dear in God's sight, and one which loveth you all in God, and hath done, as I can and do bear her witness; although in the point of predestination, it hath pleased God by my ministry, to open unto her his truth. Wherein as she is settled, and I trust in God, confirmed; so if you cannot think with her therein as she doth, I heartily pray you, and as I can, in God's behalf charge you, that you molest her not, nor disquiet her, but let love abound, and therein contend who can go most before. I commend also unto you my good sister, M. C., making for her the like suit unto you all.

Ah, dear hearts, be not faint hearted for these evil days, which are come to try us and purify us, that we may the more be partners of God's holiness; as to ourselves so to the world, we shall be better known. Continue to walk in the fear of the Lord, as ye have well begun. Keep yourselves pure, as I hope you do, from this rotten Romish, yea Anti-Christian religion. Reverently read God's word, thereto joining prayer; that as you hear, in reading, God speak unto you; so in praying, you may speak unto him. Labour after your callings to help other. As you have done, do still, and I pray God give you grace to continue, as I doubt not but he will, for his goodness sake. At the length we shall meet together in Christ's kingdom, and there never part asunder, but praise the name of our good God and father, with the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, angels, archangels, and all the saints of God.

Oh, joyful place, Oh, place of all places desired. My brethren, I think myself more happy than you, by how much I am now more near unto it. Elijah's chariot I hourly look for, to come and catch me up. My cloak, that is, my carcase, I shall leave behind me in ashes,

which I doubt not my Lord will raise up and restore to me again in the last day, glorified even like unto his own most glorious body.

The portion of the good spirit which my father hath lent me, I wish, yea double and treble, unto you all. God the father of mercy, in the blood of his Christ, give to every of you, my dear hearts, in him, his blessing, and pour plentifully upon you his holy spirit, that you may increase in all godly knowledge and godliness, to your own comfort and the edification of many others. Amen.

Yet once more I commend unto you my aforesaid most dear and beloved sister in the Lord; who always be unto her a most loving father, spouse, and pastor. Amen, Amen. Out of prison, the 16th of Feb. 1554.

Your own heart,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 23.*

## TO TREWE AND ABYNGTON,

*With other of their Company, Teachers and Maintainers of the error of man's free-will.*

YET once more,† beloved in the Lord, before pen and ink be utterly taken from me, as I look it to be this afternoon, I thought good to write unto you, because I stand in a doubt, whether at any time hereafter, I shall see or speak with you; for within this seven-night my Lord Chancellor bad look for judgment. God knoweth I lie not, I never did bear you malice, nor sought the hindrance of any one of you, but your good both in soul and body, as when we shall

* Cov. 474.

† It seems probable that this letter was addressed to the same individuals as the last.

all appear together before God, I am certain you shall then know,* though now you doubt it, and that causeless, I am right well assured. For mine own conscience can and doth bear witness with me, that I never defrauded you or any of you, of the value of one penny or pennyworth of any thing; but have sought, with that which hath been given, not only in common, but also unto me and to mine own use, discretion, and distribution; to do you good.

Therefore disdain not the good will of your lover in God; and in hope that you will not, I have eftsones even now sent unto you thirteen shillings and fourpence; if you need as much more, you shall have it, or any thing else I have, or can do for you.

Though in some things† we agree not, yet let love bear the bell away, and let us pray one for another, and be careful one for another; for I hope we be all Christ's. As you hope yourselves to pertain to him, so think of me; and as you be his, so am I your's.‡

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 24.§

## TO THE SAME.

He that seeketh not to hinder himself temporally, that he may further his brother in more need, the same wanteth true love. I have done, do, and will, except you refuse it, hinder myself this way that

* Read 1 Cor. xiii. and compare these spirits with the spirit of humbleness, unity, and love, which here you see in this man of God, doing good even to his adversaries, and then judge of them and their doctrines.—Cov. 475.

† He meaneth concerning free will, original sin, predestination, &c. wherein they are plain pelagians and papists.—Cov. 475.

‡ At this letter, these men were so sore offended, because he said he had hindered himself to further them, as though he had thereby upbraided them; that in displeasure they sent it to him again. Whereupon he wrote unto them that which follows.—Cov. 475.

§ Cov. 475.

I may further you, and indeed myself also that way, wherein I desire to be furthered. If I would seek mine own gains temporally, then could I have taken and used many portions of money, which have been given to me for mine own use.* I never minded to upbraid you; but that which I did write of my own hindrance, was that you might see I loved you, and sought your weale, as I doe, and will be glad to do it continually. The Lord, of mercy hath forgiven us all, wherefore henceforth let us rather bear than break.

Your's in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 25.*

## TO CERTAIN OF HIS FAITHFUL FRIENDS,

*Worthy of all Christians to be read, wherein is described a lively comparison between the old man and the new: also between the law and the gospel, containing much fruitful matter of divinity, necessary for Christian consciences to read and understand.*

A MAN that is regenerate and born of GOD,—the which thing that every one of us be, our baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us, with the Virgin Mary, say; Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word, according to the sacrament of baptism, wherein thou hast declared our adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, striving against it, as we shall be made able of the Lord;—a man,

* Though he distributed to them, amongst other prisoners there, not only that which was given in common, but also to his own use; yet they suspected him of evil dealing. Thus do not they, in whom the love of God dwelleth.—Cov. 476.

† Fox 349.

I say, that is regenerate, consisteth of two men, as a man may say, namely of the *old man*, and of the *new man*. The old man is like to a mighty giant, such a one as was Goliah, for his truth is now perfect. But the new man is like unto a little child, such a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of his general resurrection.

The old man therefore is more strong, lusty, and stirring than is the new man, because the birth of the new man is begun now, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the old man is more stirring, lusty, and stronger than the new man; so is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthy and corrupt with satan's seed; the nature of the new man being heavenly, and blessed with the celestial seed of God. So that one man, inasmuch as he is corrupt with the seed of the serpent, is an old man; and inasmuch as he is blessed with the seed of God from above, he is a new man. And inasmuch as he is an old man, he is a sinner and an enemy to God; so inasmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the seed of God preserving him from sin, so that he cannot sin; as the seed of the serpent, wherewith he is corrupt even from his conception, inclineth him, yea enforceth him to sin, and nothing else but to sin; so that the best part in man before regeneration, in God's sight, is not only an enemy, but enmity itself.

One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always just, and always sinful; just in respect of God's seed, and his regeneration; sinful in respect of satan's seed and his first birth. Betwixt these two men therefore there is continual conflict, and war most deadly. The flesh and old man, by reason of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the new man, being but a child in comparison, and that in such sort, as not only other, but even the children of God themselves, think that they be nothing else but old, and that the spirit and seed of God is lost and gone away; where yet notwithstanding the truth is otherwise, the spirit and the seed of God at the length appearing again, and dispelling away the clouds which cover the sun of God's seed from shining, as the clouds in the air do the corporal sun; so that sometimes a man cannot tell by any sense, that there is any sun, the clouds and winds so hiding

it from our sight; even so our cæcity or blindness, and corrupt affections do often shadow the light of God's seed in God's children, as though they were plain reprobates.

Whereof it cometh, that they, praying according to their sense, but not according to the truth, desire of God to give them again his spirit, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he makes us to think so for a time; for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their fall, that they lie not still as other do, which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt God's children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Christ, and the wicked castaways; that the elect lie not still continually in their sin, as do the wicked; but at the length do return again by reason of God's seed, which is in them hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes; as we may see in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalen, and others. For these, I mean God's children, God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, to whom he hath given this dignity, that they should be his inheritance and spouses.

This our inheritour Christ Jesus, God with God, light of light, coeternal and consubstantial with the father and with the Holy Ghost, to the end that he might become our husband, because the husband and the wife must be one body and one flesh, hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by it in his own person, to us all his children, his divine majesty, as Peter saith, and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones, substantially; as we are become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea even our sins; as all that ever he hath, pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if satan should summon us to answer for our debts or sins, in that the wife is no sueable person, but the husband; we may well bid him enter his action against our husband Christ, and he will make him a sufficient answer.

For this end, I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Christ, and so be certain of salvation, and at godly peace with God in our conscience; God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts, as now the children of God do consist of two men; one part of God s word being proper to the old man, and the other part of

God's word being proper to the new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man, is the law; the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the gospel.

The law is a doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and avoiding. Under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatenings, promises upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, &c. The gospel is a doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring faith on our behalf, not as of worthiness, or as a cause, but as a certificate unto us, and therefore under it are contained all the free and sweet promises of God; as, I am the Lord, thy God, &c.

In those that be of years of discretion, it requireth faith, not as a cause, but as an instrument, whereby we ourselves may be certain of our good husband Christ and of his glory; and therefore when the conscience feeleth itself disquieted for fear of God's judgment against sin, she may in no wise look upon the doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine only that pertaineth to the new man, in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is faith, because we never believe as we should; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on God's grace and eternal mercy and peace in Christ.

So shall she be in quiet, when she looketh for it altogether out of herself, in God's mercy in Christ Jesus, in whose lap, if she lay her head with St. John, then is she happy, and shall find quietness indeed. When she feeleth herself quiet, then, in God's name, let her look on the law, and upon such things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the old Adam, to slay that Goliath; from whom she must needs keep the sweet promises, being the bed wherein her spouse and she meet and lie together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things she is contented to have fellowship with others, as to speak, sit, eat, drink, go, &c.; so our consciences, which are Christ's wives, must needs keep the bed, that is, God's sweet promises alonely for our selves and our husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyful together. If sin, the law, the devil, or any thing, would creep into the bed, and lie there, then complain to thy

husband Christ, and forthwith thou shalt see him play Phineas' part. Thus, my dearly beloved, I have given you in few words,* a sum of all the divinity which a christian conscience can not want.

## No. 26.†

## TO CERTAIN OF HIS FRIENDS, N. S. & R. C.

*At that time, not thoroughly instructed in the Doctrine of God's Election.*

I WISH to you, my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I wish and pray the father of mercies to give me for his holy name's sake. Amen.

Your letter though I have not read myself, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things to write to others, yet I have heard the sum of it, that is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a christian man to wade in it. I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that blessed state, to the condemnation of himself, and all his posterity. I believe that Christ, for man being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the justice of God, a mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole posterity, that refuse it not finally. I believe that all that believe in Christ, I speak of such as be of years of discretion, are partakers of Christ and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Christ,—I speak not now of faith that men have by reason of miracles, John ii. 11. Acts viii. or by reason of earthly commodity, Matthew xiii., custom and authority of men, which is commonly seen, the hearts of them that so believe being not right and simple

* That is do without.

† Fox iii. 352.

before God; but I speak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith,—I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, that is, to those whom God the father, before the beginning of the world, hath predestinated *in Christ* unto eternal life.

Thus do I wade in predestination, in such sort as God hath patefied and opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is last opened, and therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, so to justification, and so to election. On this sort I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of God's spirit, in and by his word, seeing this faith is not to be given to all men, 2 Thess. iii., but to such as are born of God, predestinated before the world was made, after the purpose and good will of God; which will we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and fears submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise, than that which is holy, right, and good; how far soever otherwise it seem to the judgment of reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory, than for man's salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children full well see; for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God, Jeremiah ix. John v. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but also judgment; which is his justice, and most justice, although our foolish reason cannot see it, and in this knowledge they glory and rejoice; though others, through vain curiosity, grudge and murmur there against.

Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have, I think, your letter particularly answered by M. Philpot, as also if I have time, and so you require it, I will do.*

JOHN BRADFORD.

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* See Appendix, Note, (L.)

## No. 27.*

## TO A DEAR FRIEND,

*Wherein he treateth, as briefly, so most perfectly, godly, soundly, and pithily, of God's Holy Election, Free Grace, and Mercy in Jesus Christ.*

FAITH of God's election, I mean to believe that we be in very deed the children of God through Christ, and shall be for ever inheritors of everlasting life, through the only grace of God our father in the same Christ, is of all things which God requireth of us, not only most principal, but also the whole sum; so that without this faith, there is nothing we do that can please God. And therefore as God first required it in saying, I am the Lord thy God, &c. that is, I remit thee thy sins and give thee my holy spirit, and for ever will I keep thee; so our Saviour would have us to be persuaded when we come to pray, and therefore teacheth, yea he commandeth us, to call God our father; whose power were not infinite, as we profess in the first article of our belief, where we call him expressly our Almighty Father, if we shall doubt of his final favour.

And therefore I cannot but much marvel at some men which seem godly, and yet are in this behalf too malicious both to God and man. For what is more seeming to God than mercy, which is most magnified of the elect children of God? And what is more seeming to man than humility, the which is not nor cannot be indeed but in the elect of God, for they alone attribute nothing at all to themselves continually but damnation, that in God only and for ever, may be their whole glory?

But this notwithstanding, there is that have gone about together, yea to set abroad enormities, out of the doctrine of God's most holy and comfortable election and predestination; while the same doctrine hath more commodities than all the whole world can be able to

* Cov. 391.

conceive, much less to express. For what destroys enormities so much as it doth? It overthroweth the most pestilent papistical poison of doubting of God's favour, which is the very dungeon of despair and of the contempt of God. It destroys the Ethnick opinion of fortune; it comforteth most comfortably in the cross, and casteth down all cogitations that would else cover us with sorrow and dolour, in telling that all things shall turn to the best.

It maketh us modest and putteth away pride in prosperity, by pulling from men meriting or deserving. It enforceth men to love and carefully to travail for their brethren, utterly impugning the contempt of any. It provoketh to piety, and is the greatest enemy to ungodliness that can be, by teaching us of what dignity we be, of what price even our bodies be, temples of the Holy Ghost, and members of Christ. It engendereth a true desire of our home in heaven, and so to despise this world, and the things that this world hath in estimation.

It maketh man wholly and continually to grieve over himself, to be careful not for himself, but for others, and for those things that make to God's glory. It helpeth very much to the true understanding of the scriptures, and preserveth from errors, by knowing what is to be attributed to the law, to the gospel, to the ministry, to the vocal word, to the old testament, to the new testament, to the sacraments, to faith, to works, to prayer, to penance, to God, to man, &c. For by the spirit of election we see and know Christ, in whom dwelleth all the riches and treasures of knowledge. It setteth up Christ's kingdom, and utterly overthroweth the wisdom, power, choice, and ableness of man, that all glory may be given only unto God.

But what go I about to reckon the commodities coming out of the doctrine of God's election, in that they be innumerable? This is a sum, that where a christian man's life hath respect to God, to man and to himself, to live godly, justly, and soberly; all is grounded in predestination in Christ. For who liveth godly, but he that believeth? and who believeth but such as are ordained to eternal life? Who liveth justly, but such as love their neighbours? and whence springeth this love, but of God's election before the beginning of the world, that we might be blameless by love? Who liveth soberly but such as be holy? and who are those, but only they

that be endued with the spirit of sanctification, which is the seal of our election, who by election do believe?

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I have taken in hand at this present, something to write to you, and for your sake in this matter, which herewithal I have sent unto you; as well to be a help to you herein, as also to be a pledge of my careful love and hearty desire I have for your continuance in the truth, wherein I trust you stand perfectly, when I am dead and burned; as I look for none other, so soon as God shall give leave to his enemies for my weal and endless joy in Christ; to whom as to a most faithful pastor, from the bottom of my heart, I do commend and bequeath you, beseeching him to watch over you night and day as over one of his poor lambs, to keep you out of the claws of the lion and mouth of the wolves, to his glory and your eternal joy and comfort in him. Amen.

There is neither virtue nor vice to be considered according to any outward action, nor according to the will and wisdom of man, but according to the will of God. Whatsoever is conformable thereto, the same is virtue, and the action that springeth thereof is laudable and good, howsoever it appear otherwise to the eyes and reason of man; as was the lifting up of Abraham's hand to have slain his son. Whatsoever is not conformable to the will of God, that same is vice; and the actions springing thereof is to be disallowed and taken for evil; and that so much the more and greater evil, by how much it is not consonant and agreeing to God's will, although it seem far otherwise to man's wisdom; as was Peter's wish of making three tabernacles, and the request of some, who would have had fire to come down from heaven, upon a zeal to God, &c.

Now, the will of God is not so known as in his word; therefore according to it must vice and virtue, good and evil be judged; and not according to the judgment, wisdom, reason, and collection of any man or of all the whole world, if all the angels in heaven should take their part.

But this word of God, which is written in the canonical books of the bible, doth plainly set forth unto us, that God hath of his own mercy and good will, and to the praise of his grace and glory, in Christ elected some and not all, whom he hath predestinated unto everlasting life in the same Christ, and in his time called them,

justified them, and glorified them, so that they shall never perish and err to damnation finally.

Therefore to affirm, teach, and preach this doctrine, hath in it no hurt, no vice, no evil; much less then hath it any enormities, as some do affirm, to the eyes and spirit of them which are guided, and will be, by the word of God.

That God, the eternal father of mercies before the beginning of the world, hath of his own mercy and good will, and to the praise of his grace and glory, elected in Christ some and not all of the posterity of Adam; whom he hath predestinated unto eternal life, and calleth them in his time, justifieth them, and glorifieth them, so that they shall never perish or err to damnation, finally; that this proposition is true and according to God's plain and manifest word, by the help of his Holy Spirit,—which in the name of Jesus Christ, I humbly beseech him of his mercy, plenteously to give to me at this present and for ever, to the sanctification of his holy name;—by the help, I say, of his Holy Spirit, I trust so evidently to declare, that no man of God shall be able by the word of God, ever to impugn it, much less to confute it.

In the first chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians, the apostle saith thus; Blessed be God, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ, according as he hath elected or chosen us in him before the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him through love; and hath predestinated us, or ordained us, through Jesus Christ, to be heirs unto himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherewith he hath made us accepted in the beloved, by whom we have received redemption through his blood, and the forgiveness of our sins, according to the riches of his grace, which grace he hath shed on us abundantly in all wisdom and understanding; and hath opened unto us the mystery of his will according to his good pleasure, which he purposed in himself, to have it declared when the time was full come, that he might gather together all things by, or in, Christ, as well the things that be in heaven, as the things that be in earth, even in, or by, him; by, or in, whom we are made heirs, being thereto predestinated according to the purpose

of him which worketh all things according to the decree, or counsel, of his own will, that we which hoped before, (you) in Christ, should be unto the praise of his glory; in whom ye also hoped, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, wherein ye also believing, were sealed with the holy spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption, or full fruition, of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory.

These be the words of Paul, which I have faithfully translated according to the very text in the Greek, as by the judgment of all that be learned I desire herein to be tried. Out of the which words of Paul, we may well perceive every thing affirmed in my proposition, as I will give occasion plainly to them that will, to see it.

First, that the cause of God's election is of his good will, the apostle sheweth in saying that it is through his love, whereby we are holy and without blame; also, according to the good pleasure of his will; according to his good pleasure purposed in himself; according to his purpose, which worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.

Secondly, that election was before the beginning of the world, the apostle plainly sheweth in saying, that we were chosen before the foundation of the world was laid; and afterwards, in calling it the mystery of his will, purposed with himself, in time to be declared.

Thirdly, that election is in Christ, the apostle doth so flatly and plainly set it forth, that I need not here to repeat it. We, saith he, are chosen in him; we are heirs by him; we are accepted by him; we are gathered together in him, &c.

Fourthly, that election is of some of Adam's posterity and not of all, we may plainly see it, if we consider that he maketh the true demonstration of it, believing, hoping, and having the earnest of the spirit. In whom ye hoped, saith he, after ye heard the word, &c. in whom ye believed, were sealed up, &c. Again, in attributing to the elect, forgiveness of sins, holiness, blameless living, being in Christ, &c. That we should be holy, saith he, &c. We have received forgiveness of sins, &c. Who seeth not that these are not common to all men? All men have not faith, saith Paul elsewhere. None believed, saith Luke, but such as were ordained to eternal life. None believe but such as be born of God. None believe truly but such as

have good hearts, and keep God's seed to bring forth fruit by patience. So that it is plain, faith being a demonstration of God's election to them that be of years of discretion, that all men are not elect; because all men believe not. For he that believeth in the Lord, shall be as Mount Sion, that is, he shall never be removed; for if he be removed, that is finally perish, surely he never truly believed. But what go I about to light a candle in the clear sun light, when our Saviour plainly saith that all be not chosen, but few? Many be called, saith he, but few be chosen. And in the second chapter to the Ephesians, the apostle plainly saith, that the great riches of God's mercy, through his exceeding great love, hath saved them before their parents and many other gentiles, which were excluded from Christ, and strangers from the promise, hopeless, godless, &c. where-through we may be occasioned to cry; Oh, the depth of the judgments of God, who is just in all his doings, and holy in all his works, extending his mercy after his good pleasure and will, above all his works.

Fifthly, that God hath predestinated those, thus elect, unto everlasting life in Christ, the apostle doth also in the words before written declare, in saying; And hath predestinated us through Jesus Christ to be heirs unto himself. Again, By him, saith he, ye are made heirs and predestinated to the praise of his glory. So saith the apostle elsewhere; whom he hath predestinated, them hath he predestinated to be like fashioned unto the shape of his son. And therefore Christ saith, Rejoice in this, that your names are written in heaven.

Sixthly, that the end of election is to the praise of God's glory and grace, the apostle sheweth here, in saying; We are predestinated to be holy, and without blame before God, &c. in saying we are predestinated to the glory of his grace; and in saying also, unto the praise of his glory; so that nothing can be more manifest.

Seventhly, that predestination is not without vocation in God's time, and justification, the apostle here doth teach, in bringing us to the consideration of hearing the word of truth, believing, receiving the holy spirit, remission of sins, &c. In whom, saith he, ye have hoped, after that ye heard the word of truth, &c. Again, by whom ye have redemption, that is, remission of sins through the shedding

of his blood, &c. Also, he hath in his full time declared the mystery of his will, &c. Unto the Romans the apostle sheweth it most manifestly in saying; Whom he hath predestinated, them he calleth; whom he calleth, them he justifieth. Whereby we may see that predestination or election is not universal of all, for all be not justified.

Eighthly, and last of all, that election is so certain, that the elect and predestinated to eternal life shall never perish or err to damnation finally, the apostle doth hereby also very plainly shew, in saying; that they are predestinated to the praise of God's Grace. He saith not, to the praise of his justice, to the praise of his wisdom, to the praise of his power, although he might most truly say so; but he saith, to the praise of his grace; which were not grace if there were any respect at all of works on our behalf, for then were grace not grace. If there should be any condemnation, of the elect and predestinate to eternal life, it must needs be because of their sins; but where were the praise of God's grace then, which is the end of God's election? Shall we not by this means make God's election without an end, and so without a head; and so no election at all, as some would have, further than they elect themselves? Let such fear they shall not find the benefit of God's election, because they seek it as the Israelites did, and not as the elect, who not only find it, but also obtain it. The other are blinded, as it is written; God hath given them the spirit of unbelief, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, even to this day, &c.—Secondly, he sheweth the certainty of salvation to them that be elected, in saying that they be accepted in the beloved. Once accepted and beloved in Christ, and ever beloved; for whom he loveth, he loveth to the end; and God's gifts are such that he cannot repent him of them. And therefore, saith Christ, I know whom I have chosen, attributing to election the cause of final perseverance. By which thing Judas was seen not to be elected to eternal life, although he was elected to the office of an apostle, as Saul was elected to the office of a king. Which kind of election is to be discerned in reading the scriptures, from this kind of election, the which I speak of now, that is, from election to eternal life in Christ.—Thirdly, he sheweth the certainty of salvation of the elect, by calling

them heirs; for if we be heirs of God, then are we fellow heirs with Christ, to be afflicted and glorified with Christ; and therefore, saith he, according to the decree of his own will. Lo! he calleth it a decree or counsel which shall stand, as Isaiah saith; the counsel of the Lord shall stand. — Fourthly, he showed this certainty, by saying that they are elect and predestinate to the praise of God's glory, which we should more care for, than for the salvation of all the world. This glory of the Lord is set forth as well in them that perish and are reprobates, as in the elect; and therefore St. John, bringing in the place of Isaiah speaking of the reprobate, saith that Isaiah spake that when he saw the glory of the Lord. This glory of the Lord to be set forth by us, is a great mercy and benefit of God. I am assured that if the very devils and reprobates did not repine hereat, but were thankful that they might be ministers in any point to set forth God's glory; I am assured, I say, that they should find no hell nor torments. Their hell and torments come of the love they have to themselves, and of the malice, envy, and hatred they have against God and his glory. Let them tremble and fear, that may not away with the glory of the Lord in election and reprobation. Let not their eyes be evil because God is good, and doth good, to whom it pleaseth him; wrong he doth to no man, nor can do, for then he were not righteous, and so no God. He cannot condemn the just, for then were he untrue, because his word is contrary. He cannot condemn the penitent and believer, for that were against his promise. Let us therefore labour, study, cry, and pray for repentance and faith, and then cannot we be damned; because we are the blessed of the father before all worlds, and therefore we believe, therefore we repent.

And forasmuch as it pertaineth to us which be within, to see and to speak of those things which are given unto us of God in Christ; let us labour hereabouts, and leave them that be without to the Lord, which will judge them in his time. The apostle prayeth for the Ephesians, for none other wisdom and revelation from God, than whereby they might know God, and have their minds illumined, to see what they should hope for by their vocation, and how rich the glory of his inheritance is upon his saints.

Further than this, I think is unseemly for us to search, until we

have sought out, how rich God's goodness is and will be to us his children. The which we can never do, but the more we go thereabouts, and the more we taste his goodness, the more we shall love him and lothe all things that displease him. This, I say, let us do, and not be too busy bodies in searching the majesty and glory of God; or in nourishing in any wise the doubting of our salvation, whereto we are ready enough, and the devil goeth about nothing so much as that; for by it we are dull to do good to others, we are so careful of ourselves. By it we are more dull to do good to ourselves, because we stand in doubt whether it profiteth us or no. By it we dishonour God, either in making him as though he were not true, or else as though our salvation came not only and altogether from him, but hanged partly on ourselves. By it the devil will bring men at length to despair and hatred of God. Doubt once of thy salvation, and continue therein, and surely he will then ask no more. It was the first thing wherewith he tempted Christ; If thou be the Son of God, &c. It is the first and most principal dart he casteth at God's elect.

But as he prevailed not against Christ, no more shall he do against any of his members, for they have the shield of faith which quencheth his fiery darts. They praise God night and day, how then should they perish? The angels of the Lord pitch their tents round about them, how then should satan prevail? They are borne in the hands of the angels, least they should hurt their feet at any stone. God hath given commandment to his angels over them. The angels are ministers unto them. Their names are written in the book of life, and therefore Christ bad them rejoice; as Paul doth the Phillipians, for nothing shall separate them from the love wherewith God loveth them in Christ Jesu, who saith that it is impossible for them to err finally to damnation; for he is their light to illumine their darkness.

They are given to him to keep, and he is faithful over all God's children; he saith he will keep them so that they shall never perish. After they believe, they are entered already into everlasting life; Christ hath set them there already; he hath committed them into his father's hands by prayer, which we know is sure, and therefore death, hell, devils, nor all power, sins, nor mischief, shall never pull us out of our Head's hands; whose members we are, and therefore

receiving of his spirit as we do, we cannot but bring forth the fruits thereof, though now and then the flesh fail us.

But the Lord, even our Lord be praised, which is more strong in us than he which is in the world; he always putteth under his hand that we lie not still, nor shall do, as the reprobate; whose piety is as the morning dew, soon come and soon gone, and therefore they cannot continue to the end. Cannot? no, they will not if they could, because they hate God and his glory, and therefore all them that seek it, or set it forth; whereas the elect love all men, and seek to do all men good in God; suspending their judgments of others, that they may stand or fall to the Lord, and not to them.

Hitherto out of this one place of Paul to the Ephesians, if the matter of election and predestination be so fully set forth to God's glory, and to the comfort of his Church; how may we suppose is this matter set forth, in the whole body and books of the canonical scripture? Whereto I had rather send you with this candlelight which I have now given you, than in a matter so manifest to make more a do than needeth.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 28.*

## TO HIS DEAR FATHERS Dr. CRANMER, Dr. RIDLEY, AND Dr. LATIMER,

*Prisoners in Oxford, for the Testimony of the Lord Jesus, and his Holy Gospel.*

Almighty God our heavenly Father, more and more kindle our hearts and affections with his love; that our greatest cross may be to be absent from him, and strangers from our home, and that we may gladly contend more and more to please him, Amen.

* Cov. 357.

As always I have had great cause to praise our dear Father through Christ, so methinks I have more and more, in seeing more likely the end of my life, which is due for my sin, to be through the exceeding grace of Christ, a testimony of God's truth. Thus the Lord dealeth not with every body, not that every body hath not more deserved at God's hands than I, who have deserved more vengeance than any other, I know, of my time and state; but that by me, I hope, the Lord will make the riches of his grace, to his glory, to be seen more excellent.

With me, therefore, I humbly beseech you all, my most dear fathers in God, to give thanks for me, and as you do still, to pray for me; that the Lord, as for his love's sake in Christ he hath begun his good work in me, even so of and for the same, his love's sake in Christ, he would make it perfect, and make me to continue to the end, as I hope he will, for his mercy and truth endureth for ever.

As for your parts, in that it is commonly thought your staff standeth next to the door; ye have the more cause to rejoice and be glad, as they which shall come to your fellows under the altar*, to the which society God, with you bring me also in his mercy, when it shall be his good pleasure.

I have received many good things from you my good lord, master, and dear father, N. Ridley, fruits I mean of your godly labours; all which I send unto you again by this bringer; one thing excepted, which he can tell, I do keep upon your further pleasure to be known therein. And herewithall I send unto you a little treatise which I have made, that you might peruse the same, and not only you, but also ye my other most dear and reverend fathers in the Lord for ever, to give to it your approbation as ye may think good. All the prisoners hereabouts, in manner, have seen it, and read it, and as therein they agree with me, nay, rather with the truth; so they are ready, and will be, to signify it as they shall see you give them example.

The matter may be thought not so necessary as I seem to make it; *but yet if ye knew the great evil, that is like hereafter to come to*

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* Rev. vi. 9.

*posterity by these men*, as partly this bringer can signify unto you; surely then could ye not but be most willing to put hereto your helping hands. The which thing that I might more occasion you to perceive, I have sent you here a writing of Harry Hart's* own hand, whereby ye may see how Christ's glory and grace is like to lose much light, if that your sheep quondam be not something holpen by them which love God, and are able to prove that all good is to be attributed, only and wholly to God's grace and mercy in Christ, without other respect of worthiness than Christ's merits.

The effects of salvation they so mingle and confound with the cause, that if it be not seen to, more hurt will come by them, than ever came by the Papists; inasmuch as their lives commend them to the world more than the Papists. God is my witness, that I write not this, but because I would God's glory and the good of his people. In free will they are plain Papists, yea Pelagians; and ye know that *modicum fermenti totam massam corrumpit.* They utterly contemn learning;† but hereof shall this bringer shew you more.

As to the chief captains, therefore, of Christ's Church here, I complain of it unto you; as truly I must do of you even unto God in the last day, if ye will not as ye can, help something‡ *ut veritas Doctrinæ maneat apud posteros* in this behalf, as ye have done on the behalf of matters expugned by the Papists. God for his mercy in Christ, guide you, my most dearly beloved fathers, with his Holy Spirit here and in all other things; as most may make to his glory and the commodity of his Church. Amen.

All here, God therefore be praised, prepare themselves willingly to pledge our Captain Christ, even when he will and how he will. By your good prayers we shall all fare the better, and therefore we all pray you to continue to cry to God for us, as we, God willing, do

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* This was the chiefest maintainer of man's free will, and enemy to God's free grace. Cov.

† This is well known to all those which have had to do with them in disputations or otherwise; for the writings and authority of the learned they have utterly rejected and despised.—*Cov.* 359.

‡ Upon this occasion, M. Ridley wrote a learned and godly treatise of God's election and predestination.—*Cov.* 359. Whereof he afterwards wrote a godly and comfortable treatise, remaining yet in the hands of some, and hereafter shall come to light, if God so will.—*Cov.* 65.

and will remember you. *My brethren here with me, have thought it their duty to signify this need to be no less than I make it*, to prevent the plantations which may *take root by these men.**

Your's in the Lord,

ROBERT FERRAR.
ROWLAND TAYLOR.
JOHN BRADFORD.
JOHN PHILPOT.

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In the month of May, 1554, it was given out that a solemn disputation was to be held at Cambridge between Bradford, Saunders, Rogers, and others of that side; and the Doctors of both the Universities on the other side; as had already taken place at Oxford.

The godly preachers who were in prison, having heard thereof, although destitute of their books, and by no means ignorant of the purpose of their adversaries, and how the case had been prejudiced before, as also how the disputations had been confusedly handled at Oxford; thought nevertheless they ought not to refuse the offer of a disputation, so that they might be justly and impartially heard. They therefore, by mutual consent, issued a declaration of their minds in writing, stating that although they knew they should

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* See Appendix, Note (M.)

do no good, all things having been predetermined, yet nevertheless they would not refuse to dispute; so that the disputation might be either before the Queen, the Council, or the Parliament Houses, or else in writing.

For otherwise, if the matter were brought to the Doctors' handling, in their own schools, they had sufficient proof from the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge; and so consequently declaring the doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their judges in this behalf, and so ended their protestation, the copy and contents whereof follow.

## No. 29.*

*A copy of a certain declaration, drawn and sent out of prison by Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and divers other godly preachers, concerning their disputation, and doctrine of their religion, as followeth.*

Because we hear that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been; not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the Queen's Highness, or of any of the councils,

* Fox iii. 100.

God's name be praised therefore; but alonely for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge: because we say, we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it may be before the Queen's Highness and her council, or before the parliament houses; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and Catholic Church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth; wherethrough the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now whilst we may, by writing, to publish and notify the causes, why we will not dispute otherwise than is above said, to prevent the offences which might come thereby.

First, because it is evidently known unto the whole world, that the determinations of both the Universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word, yea, against their own determinations in the time of our late Sovereign Lord and most godly Prince, King Edward: and further it is known they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputations had of the same.

Secondly, because the prelates, and clergy do not seek either us or the verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us, as charity requireth, then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril, we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed; so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the verity: and, therefore, we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail, than to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the verity.

Thirdly, because the censors and judges, as we hear who they be, are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which worse is, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example.

That they be such, their designs of late at Oxford, and in the convocation house* in October last past, do most evidently declare.

Fourthly, because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study; we think we should do evil, thus suddenly to descend into disputation with them, who may alledge, as they list, the fathers and their testimonies, because our memories have not that which we have read, so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose; or to bring forth that we may have there, for our advantage.

Fifthly, because in disputations we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopped when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. as was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Dr. Ridley at Oxford,† who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always letting him to prosecute his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting which wonderfully then was used. If on this sort, and much worse they handled these fathers, much more will they be shameless bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

Sixthly, because the notaries that shall receive and write the disputations, shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves, the censors and judges we mean, at their pleasure will put to and take from that which is written by the notaries; who cannot, or must not have in their custody that which

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* See the account of the proceedings upon that occasion, at length, in Fox iii. 19—29.

† See a full account of this extracted from Fox, and a variety of explanatory notes by Dr. Wordsworth, vol. iii. 123. *et sequent.* Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were appointed a day each in their cause to answer all opponents; which each of them performed, and that so, that notwithstanding they were annoyed with rude clamours, and distracted with variety of opponents, all urging and craving answer at the same time; although they were scoffed at, reviled, and overborne with multitude, yet did they force their adversaries to admire them. Cranmer did learnedly, and according to the dignity wherein he so many years flourished, gravely. Ridley, acutely and readily. And Latimer, with a pleasant tartness, and more solidly than could be expected of a man so near the age of fourscore.—*Bp. Godwin's Annals. Queen Mary,*

they write, longer than the disputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy, nor scroll could any man have by their good will; for the censors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for and his writings taken from him; so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For these causes we all think it so necessary, not to dispute with them, as if we did dispute we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of antichrist, and to suppress, as much as may be, the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed, you may be sure, for their fantasies, to the slandering of the verity.

Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify unto the whole congregration and Church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the pen; unless it be before the Queen's Highness and her Council, or before the Houses of the Parliament, as is above said. If they will write, we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's Church, this our faith and every piece thereof; which hereafter we in a sum do write and send abroad purposely, that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it: and to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter or fire, or otherwise, as God shall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching all that fear God, *to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the Queen's Highness and the superior powers, which are ordained of God under her; rather after our example to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed; we mean our Sovereign Lady Queen Mary, into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy, plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever.* Amen.

First, we confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy

Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

Secondly, we confess and believe, that the catholic church which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion, and therefore is she to be heard accordingly: so that those, who will not hear this church, thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we account as heretics and schismaticks, according to this saying, If he will not hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen.

Thirdly, we believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbols of the apostles, which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols of the councils of Nice, held A. D. 324; of Constantinople, A. D. 384; of Ephesus, A. D. 432; of Chalcedon, A. D. 454; of Toletum* the first and fourth; also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damasus, which was about the year of our Lord 376; we confess and believe, we say, the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly; so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

Fourthly, we believe and confess concerning justification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy, through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none, which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only; which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion, wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, wherethrough as the mind is illumined, so the heart is suppled to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly; and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God indueth us, withall justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And this we do not for curiosity or contention sake, but for conscience sake, that it might be quiet; which it can never be if we confound, without distinction, forgiveness of sins, and Christ's justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to Godward.

Fifthly, we confess and believe concerning the exterior service of

* Toledo, in Spain.

God, that it ought to be according to the word of God; and therefore in the congregation, all things public ought to be done in such a tongue, as may be most to edify, and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

Sixthly, we confess and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto, and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to Saints, departed this life.

Seventhly, we confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally; and in the mean season is entered either into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm purgatory, masses of *Scala Cœli*, *Trentals*,* and such suffrages as the Popish Church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of antichrist.

Eighthly, we confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be baptism and the Lord's Supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them: and that they be no longer sacraments, than they be had in use, and used to the end for the which they were instituted.

And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's Supper, and the subtraction of the one kind for the lay people, is antichristian.

And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, after the words of consecration, as they be called.

*Item*, the adoration of the sacrament, with honour due unto God; the reservation and carrying about of the same.

*Item*, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

All these we confess and believe to be antichrist's doctrine: as is the inhibition of marriage, as unlawful, to any state. And we doubt not by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here, to be most true by the verity of God's word, and consent of the catholic church, which followeth and hath followed the government of God's spirit, and the judgment of his word.

And this through the Lord's help we will do, either in disputation by word before the Queen's Highness and her Council, either before

* Romish Offices so called.

the Parliament Houses, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or else with our pens, whensoever we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, *in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition, against our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness:* but where they cannot obey, least they must disobey God, there to submit themselves, with all patience and humility, to suffer as the will and pleasures of the higher powers shall adjudge: as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess, unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the Queen's Highness and her council, or the parliament houses, shall appoint. For the Universities and clergy have condemned our causes already, by the bigger but not by the better part, without all disputation of the same: and therefore most justly we may, and do appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing, that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the spirit of his truth and grace of perseverance therein unto the end, Amen. The 8th day of May, A. D. 1554.

ROBERT FERRAR, MENEVENSIS.
ROWLAND TAYLOR.
JOHN PHILPOT.
JOHN BRADFORD.
JOHN HOOPER, GLOUCESTR ET WIGORN.
EDWARD CROME.
JOHN ROGERS.
LAURENCE SAUNDERS.
EDWARD LAURENCE.
I. P.
T. M.

To these things above said, do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted brethren being prisoners, mine own hand.*

* See Appendix Note (N.)

## No. 30.*

# TO SIR JAMES HALES, KNIGHT,

*Then prisoner in the Compter, in Bread-street.*

The God of mercy, and father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you, and in you, his mercy; and with his consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christ's sake. Amen.

Although, right worshipful Sir, many causes might move me to be content, with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to persevere well, as he hath right notably begun to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance, for I think I am unknown to you both by face and name, and other such like things; yet I cannot content myself, but presume something to scribble unto you, not that I think my scribbling can do you good, but that I might hereby declare my sympathy and compassion, love, and affection I bear towards your mastership; which is contented, yea desirous with us poor misers, to confess Christ's gospel in these perilous times and days of trial. Oh, Lord God, how good art thou, which doeth thus glean out grapes, I mean children for thyself, and brethren for Christ.

Look, good M. Hales, on your vocation; not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men and wealthy to live, as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare say, you think not so of yourself, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you; but rather attribute this, as all good things, unto his free mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that, you being a wise man, judge of things

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* Fox iii. 324. Cov. 286.

wisely, that is, concerning this your cross, you judge of it not after the world and people, which is *magnus erroris magister*, not after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to faith, nor after the present sense, to the which *non videtur gaudii, sed molestiæ*, as Paul writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your cross to be, in respect of yourself between God and you, God's chastising and your father's correction, nurture, school, trial, pathway to heaven, glory, and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortify the relics of old Adam which yet remain; yea, even the frame house to fashion you like to the dearest Saints of God here, yea to Christ the Son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him.

Now concerning your cross in respect of the world between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a testimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his justice, of his wisdom, of his anger against sin, of his goodness, of his judgment, of your faith and religion: so that by it you are to the world a witness of God, one of his testes, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at the length will judge the world, and cast the wicked into perdition, but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation.

I know you judge of things after faith's fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and so you see *æternum pondus gloriæ*, which this cross shall bring unto you, *dum non spectas ea quæ videntur, sed ea quæ non videntur*. Let the worldlings weigh things, and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, *as did many in subscription of the King's last will*, and therefore they did that for the which they beshrewed themselves: but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as God be praised you did, in not doing that which you were desired, and driven at to have done.* You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God, and so you do now in religion, at the least hitherto you have done, and that you might do so still, I humbly beseech and pray you, say with David; *Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum, quando consolaberis me?* Though

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* See Appendix, Note (O).

you be as *uter in fumo*, for I hear you want health, yet *ne obliviscaris justificationes Dei:* but cry out, *quot sunt dies servi tui? quando facies de persequentibus me judicium?* And be certain, *quod Dominus veniens veniet, et non tardabit. Si moram fecerit, expecta illum:* for he is but *ad momentum in ira sua, et vita in voluntate ejus. Ad Vesperam demorabitur fletus, et ad matutinum Letitia.* Follow therefore Isaiah's counsel; *abscondere ad modicum, ad momentum, donec pertranseat indignatio ejus*, which is not *indignatio* indeed, but to our sense, and therefore in the twenty-seventh chapter of that prophet, God saith of his Church and People, that as he keepeth night and day, so *non est indignatio mihi*, saith he.

The mother sometime beateth the child, but yet her heart melteth upon it even in the very beating, and therefore she casteth the rod into the fire, and calleth the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And to say the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us, and therefore saith he; can a mother forget the child of her womb? As who should say, no: but if she should do so, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord of Hosts. Ah, comfortable saying; I will not forget thee saith the Lord.

Indeed the children of God think oftentimes, that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry; *ne abscondas faciem tuam a me &c. Ne derelinquas me Domine, &c.* whereas in very truth it is not so, but to their present sense, and therefore David said; *Ego dixi in excessu meo projectus sum a facie tua.* But was it so? Nay, verily, Read his psalms and you shall see. So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ; as when he saith, *Deus meus, Deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me?* he saith not *ut quid derelinquis*, or *derelinques me*, but *ut quid dereliquisti me?* Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was so to his sense, and that this psalm telleth full well; which psalm I pray you now and then read, it is the 22d, and thereto join the 30th, and 116th, with divers others.

The same we read in the prophet Isaiah, in his 40th chapter, where he reproveth Israel for saying God had forgotten them. Nunquid nescis, saith he? An non audivisti? &c. Qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem. And in his 54th chapter: Noli timere, &c.

Ad punctum enim in modico dereliqui te, at in miserationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis abscondi faciem meam parumper a te, et in misericordia sempiterna misertus sum tui, dixit Redemptor tuus Dominus. Nam istud erit mihi sicut aquæ Noe. Ut enim juravi ne porro aquæ Noe pertransirent terram, sic juravi ut non irascar tibi et non increpem te. Montes enim commovebuntur et colles contremiscent, misericordia autem mea non recedet a te, et fœdus pacis meæ non movebitur, dicit miserator tuus Dominus.

But the scriptures are full of such sweet places, to them that will portare iram Domini et expectare salutem et auxilium ejus. As of all temptations this is the greatest; that God hath forgotten or will not help us through the pykes, as they say: so of all services of God, this liketh him the best, to hope assuredly on him, and for his help always, who is adjutor in tribulationibus, and doth more gloriously shew his power by such as be weak, and feel themselves so. For, quo infirmiores sumus, eo sumus in illo robustiores. Sic oculi Domini be on them that tremble and fear. Voluntatem eorum faciet: he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them: antequam clamaverint exaudit eos, as all the scriptures teach us: to the reading whereof and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beseeching Almighty God, that of his eternal mercies he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and strengthen you to the end, that you might have no less hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now against your enemies, than already he hath given you against N.* for not subscribing to the king's will.

Be certain, be certain, good Master Hales, that all the hairs of your head, your dear father hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish; your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care, who will comfort you with his eternal consolation, and make you able to go through the fire, if need be, which is nothing to be compared to the fire, wherein our enemies shall fall and lie for ever. From the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire, which must be construed according to the end and profit that cometh after it; so shall it then, not much

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* John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

fear us to suffer it, for our Master Christ's cause, the which the Lord grant for his mercy's sake.—Amen. From the King's Bench.*

Your humble,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 31.†

## TO MY GOOD FRIEND IN GOD, MASTER HUMPHREY HALES.‡

As to my dear friend, I wish unto you, gentle Master Hales, health of soul and body to God's glory, and your everlasting comfort. Amen.

Although it be commonly spoken, and as commonly verified, that seldom seen is soon forgotten; yet it is not so commonly seen or experienced amongst them, whose friendship is in God the Father through Christ, as ours is, but in those whose friendship is begun in respect of some earthly commodity; and therefore, lest I should incur this suspicion at your hands, who have so many ways deserved the contrary, I thought it my duty to refresh, if it need refreshing, the amity in God begun betwixt us, which I doubt not shall continue so long as we live, or else I would be sorry.

In consideration whereof, both mindful of my promise made unto you, and careful for your safety, I have caused a place to be provided for your wife's deliverance; where she may so quietly and safely remain, that for the avoiding of the perils and dangers of these days, I see none more convenient; I mean it in Hadley, at Dr. Taylor's house, where I trust there is no peril to youward; nor to any that feareth or regardeth any peril that thereby may happen. And herein of very love and good will, I am the more familiar and bold to admonish you, not as distrusting you, God forbid, for I

* See Appendix Note (P.)

† Cov. 310.

‡ He was the son of the preceding Sir Jas. Hales, as this and the following Letter show.

think of you as a very child of God, but as one careful for you, lest you should at length, through the common infirmity of our frail flesh, and the manifold offences given of the world, do exteriorly as the world doth, to save your sleeve and maim your arm for ever; as those do, who for the saving of their goods, jeopard goods of body and soul, in the peril of eternal damnation.

If I suspected any such thing in you, gentle Master Hales, I then would go about to tell you what this life is; a smoke, a shadow, a vapour, &c.; what the glory of this life is; grass, hay; yea, how full of misery it is, and hath more aloes than honey, Job. ix. If I suspected any thing your conscience, I would then set before you, on the one part, the judgment of Christ, which shall be most assuredly, the terrible sentence to them who are ashamed to confess his gospel; the eternal woe and misery which they shall be cast into, that will not obey his gospel here; and on the other part, the most pleasant shout of the angel, to summon all men to come before our Captain and Brother Christ, the collection and catching of us up in the clouds to meet our master, the eternal joy and felicity which we shall receive that here confess him, here suffer with him, here lose any thing for his sake.

If I did in any point so much as think, that you would defile your body in the antichristian service now used, then would I go about to set forth these things, briefly spoken, more at large. But as I said before, I say again, because I am as well persuaded of you, my dearly beloved brother, as of any in your profession and state; I cannot but pray God to make perfect, the good which he hath begun in you, and desire you, as you have begun in God, so to go forward.

As your example hath done good to many, so cast not all down with a type. Terrible is that woe which Christ threateneth, to them by whom offences do come. You know that the way of salvation is straiter than men make it. You know the soul is to be considered above all things. Happy is the loss of that bodily life, liberty, and goods, by the which a spiritual life, freedom, and felicity is purchased. What should it profit a man to win the whole world and to lose his own soul? Who would desire a two years merry life for an eternal sorrow? as these mass gospellers do, who yet are uncertain of two

years life, and God knoweth what wounds their consciences have. Hard is it to recover health to the conscience; and because I am careful for it to youwards, as to mine own brother, and dear friend, therefore I write thus. We are in God's power, and not in the power of our enemies; he it is that hath all our hairs numbered; before he say Amen, no man shall once touch you. Into his hands commit yourself; cast your care on him, have a care to please him, and then he will care to keep you. You know the oath the Athenians did make; pugnabo pro sacris, et solus, et cum aliis; which saying of the heathen will be to your condemnation, if for his holy word and gospel's sake, we dare not adventure the loss of that he hath sent us, keepeth for us, and can when he will take away from us, or us from it.

If worldly men dare jeopard a joint with God, rather than they would lose worldly things, as experience teacheth; certainly it should be much to our shame, who in baptism have vowed and solemnly sworn to forsake the world, if we dare not jeopard a joint with man, rather than we would lose a good conscience, and spiritual treasures. He that will not have God's blessing, it shall be taken from him, saith David.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, beware; you are now, the temple of the Holy Ghost; defile it not for the Lord's sake, but keep it pure, not only from all uncleanness of the spirit, but also of the flesh, (2 *Cor.* vii.) as I trust you will; and cry unto your father for his strength and aid, which I beseech him of his mercy, always to give unto you, my own good friend, even as I desire to myself. If in any thing I could help you, you may be assured thereof as of your brother. My prayer to God, night and day, you shall have, that for his holy name-sake he would bless you in all things and keep you, with my good sister your wife, unto the very end, as his dear elect children. Amen, Amen. From my lodging, you know where, this fifth of August.

By your own to use in the Lord for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 32.*

## To MASTER HUMPHREY HALES and his WIFE.

The everlasting and merciful God, our dear Father through Christ, be with you both, my most dearly and entirely beloved in the Lord, now and for ever.

I cannot forbear but signify unto you both, that my heart is careful and heavy for the cross which is come upon you, by the heavy and fearful judgment of God fallen upon your father; justly for his denying of God for fear of men and love of these things, which he hath left behind him unto you and others. God grant his fact be so imprinted in the hearts of all men, especially of you both, that his fall may be unto you, I will not say a rising, for yet I trust ye are not fallen, but an establishing in the verity of God, whereof whoso is ashamed, shall at length feel such shame as I beseech God keep us all from. Happy are they that mark the judgments of God upon others, to come and increase in repentance—*Luke* xiii. to fear God's wrath and judgments, which is always like himself, if we follow the steps of them, on whom he taketh punishment.

I need not tell you the cause of this that hath happened unto your father, if it be as I with sorrow have heard. For you know well enough, that till he forsook God, gave ear to the serpent's counsel, began to mamber of the truth, and to frame himself outwardly to do that which his conscience reproved inwardly—for that which be mingled with the love of God, I mean the love of the world, cannot be in any man without the expulsion of God's love—till then, I say, God did not depart and leave him to himself, to the example of you and me, and all others; that we should fear even ourselves and our own hands, more than man and all the powers of the world, if we therefore should do any thing, which should wound our conscience.

The conscience, I tell you, is soon wounded, yea sooner than we be aware of. The devil useth all kind of deceit to blind us from seeing that which might wound it: but when the stripe is given, then either

* Cov. 312.

shutteth he still up our eyes with contempt to our hardening, or else openeth them to bring us to utter despairing. In your father, as ye may see the latter, so in many worldly gospellers you may, if you will, see the other. God might deal with all such, as he hath done now with your father; but because the time of his judgment is not yet come, his wisdom hath thought good to set your father forth as an example to all men; as he did in the first world, Cain; in the second world, Cham; in the third age, Korah, &c.; in Christ's time, Judas; in the Apostles' time, Ananias, &c.; although none will heartily consider it, but such as be God's children indeed.

But here, in comparing your father thus, my dearly and unfeignedly beloved in the Lord, I must pray you not to be offended, or think that I do determinately judge, to God I leave all judgment, but because the fruit to us declared no less, to the admonishment of us all, I trust ye will accordingly consider my collation. For your parts as I think godly of you both, that indeed ye are both the children of God; so I pray you comfort yourselves as David did, though his son Absalom perished so desperately, and though his father-in-law, Achitophel, father to Bathsheba, as the Hebrews write, perished so miserably. Ye know Jonathan was not the worse, because his father slew himself; nor Bathsheba, because of her father, Achitophel; they both were the children of God, and so I am assured, as man can be, that ye are. As they used God's judgments upon their parents, so do ye, to fear God and love God the more, and to fly from those things, which in your father, ye did see displeased God.

Oh, that I were with you but one half hour, not only with you to lament, but also as God should lend me his grace, to comfort you, who by this judgment doth tempt your patience and faith, to the comfort of you both, as you shall find, I am assured. My dear hearts in the Lord, if I could by any means comfort you, certainly if my life lay on it, I think you should forthwith perceive it; but because I can do no more than I can, therefore as I can, I do, that is, as to write, so to send this messenger, my good friend and brother with the same; to learn certainly of the truth herein, and the condition of your estate. My other letter was made before I knew of this matter. I pray God this which by report I understand, be otherwise, but God's good will be done, who gives us patience and comfort in him.

To whom I commend you both, even as heartily as any friends I have in this life, of your estate. From my lodging you know where, this eight of August, Anno Domini, 1554.

By your own, to use in the Lord for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 33.*

## TO THE WORSHIPFUL, AND IN GOD MY MOST DEAR FRIEND, THE LADY VANE.†

The good spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good Ladyship, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Although your benefits towards me have deserved at my hands the service I can do for you, yet, right worshipful and dearly beloved in the Lord, the true fear of God and the love of his truth, which I perceive to be in you, especially and above all other things, doth bind me hereunto.

This bearer hath told me, that your desire is, to have something sent to you concerning the usurped authority of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, which is undoubtedly the great antichrist, of whom the apostles do so much admonish us; that you may have as well something the more to stay you on, as also wherewith to answer the adversaries, because you may perchance therein be something aposed. To satisfy this your desire, I will briefly go about, and so that I will, by God's grace, fully set forth the same; to ensure you to withstand the assaults of the papists herein, if you mark well and read over again, that which I now write.

The papists do place in pre-eminence over the whole church, the Pope, thereby unplacing Christ who is the head of the church, that giveth life to the whole body; and by his spirit doth make lively every

* Fox iii. 339. Cov. 403. † See Appendix, Note (Q.)

member of the same. This they do without all scriptures; for where they bring in this spoken to Peter, " feed my sheep," I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others also? As for that which perchance they will urge, that he spoke to Peter by name, if they had any learning, they would easily perceive how that it was not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather, by a threefold commandment, to restore to him the honour of an apostle, which he had lost by his threefold denial.

And how dare they interpret these words, my sheep, my lambs, to be the universal church of Christ? I trow a man might easily by the like reason, prove that Peter himself had resigned that which Christ had given to him, in exhorting his fellow-pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ saith to Peter, feed my sheep, therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole Church of Christ. If Peter do truly write unto others that they should do the like, that is, feed Christ's flock, either he translateth his right and authority committed to him upon them, or else he doth participate and communicate it with them. So that foolishly they go about to establish that which hath no ground.

Peter, indeed, was a shepherd of the sheep, but such a one as bestowed his labour on them, so far as he could stretch out himself by his ministry. But the papists prate that he had full power over all churches; wherein they may see Paul to improve them, for else he had done unjustly in denying him the superior place. Howbeit, whoever yet read that Peter did take any thing upon him, over churches committed unto other men? Was not he sent of the church, and sent as one not having rule over the rest? I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts, whensoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head over all the whole church, because he was so over a small congregation?

But be it so, that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm; who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heirs? He hath left, say the papists, to his successors, the self same right which he received. Oh, Lord God, then must his successor be a satan; for he received that title of Christ himself. I would gladly

have the papists to shew me one place of succession, mentioned in the scriptures. I am sure that when Paul purposely painteth out the whole administration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable primacy, and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Christ, and of one Baptism, then he describeth the mean and manner how unity is to be kept; namely, because unto every pastor is grace given, after the measure wherewith Christ hath endowed them. Where, I pray you, is now any title of plenitudinis potestatis, of fulness of power? when he calleth home every one unto a certain measure, why did he not forthwith say, one pope? Which thing he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the papists make it.

But let us grant that perpetuity of the primacy in the church, was established in Peter, I would gladly know why the seat of the primacy should be rather at Rome, than elsewhere. Marry, say they, because Peter's chair was at Rome. This is even like to this, that because Moses the greatest prophet, and Aaron the first priest, exercised their offices unto their death in the desert; therefore the most principal place of the Jewish Church, should be in the wilderness.

But grant them their reason, that it is good. What should Antioch claim? For Peter's chair was there also; wherein Paul gave him a check, which was unfeelingly and unmannerly done of Paul, that would not give place to his President and better. No, say the papists, Rome must have this authority, because Peter died there. But what, and if a man should by probable conjectures shew, that it is but a fable, which is feigned of Peter's Bishopric at Rome? Read how Paul doth salute very many private persons, when he writeth to the Romans. Three years after his epistle made, he was brought to Rome prisoner. Luke telleth, that he was received of the brethren, and yet in all these, no mention at all of Peter, who then by their stories was at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the Pope and Prelates be, or else he would have visited Paul. Paul being in prison in Rome, did write divers epistles, in which he expresseth the names of many who were in comparison of Peter, but rascal personages, but of Peter he speaketh never a word. Surely if Peter had been there,

this silence respecting him had been suspicious. In the second epistle to Timothy, Paul complaineth, that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him, or Peter had played his Peter's part.—*Luke* xxiii.

In another place how doth he blame all that were with him, only Timothy excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was at Rome, Bishop, as they prate; for all this time and long before, they say that Peter was bishop there.

But I will not stir up Coals in this matter. If Rome be the chief seat, because Peter died there, why should not Antioch be the second? Why should not James and John, who were taken with Peter to be as pillars, why, I say, should not their seats have honour next to Peter's seat? Is not this gear preposterous, that Alexandria where Mark, who was but one of the Disciples, was Bishop, should be preferred before Ephesus, where John the Evangelist taught and was Bishop, and before Jerusalem, where not only James taught and died Bishop, but also Christ Jesus our Lord and High Priest for ever; by whom being master, I hope, honour should be given to his chair, more than to the chair of his chaplains.

I need to speak nothing, how that Paul telleth Peter's apostleship, to concern rather circumcision or the Jews, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither do I need to bring in Gregory the sixth* Bishop of Rome, which was about the year of our Lord 600; who plainly in his works doth write, that this title of primacy, and to be head over all churches, under Christ, is a title meet and agreeing only to antichrist, and therefore he calleth it a prophane, a mischievous, and a horrible title.† Who should we believe now, if we will neither believe Apostle, nor Pope?

If I should go about to tell how this name was first gotten by Phocas, I should be too long. I purpose, God willing, to set it forth at large in a work which I have begun of antichrist, if God for his

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* Not Gregory VI. but Gregory I., who was the sixth bishop of Rome, and is usually called Gregory the Great—the author of the famous Pastoral Letters.

† This declaration of Gregory's is to be found in Dupin's Ecclesiastical History, vol. v. III. Contre la Qualité de Patriarche Universel.

mercy's sake, give the life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your Ladyship to take this in good part. If they will needs have the Bishop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the church, then will I urge them that they shall give us a Bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a bitesheep, than a bishop.

They brag of Peter's succession, of Christ's Vicar, this is always, in their mouth; but alas, how can we call him Christ's Vicar that resisteth Christ, oppugneth his verity, persecuteth his people, and, like a prelate, preferreth himself before God and man? How, or wherein, do the Pope and Christ agree? How supplieth he Peter's ministry that boasteth of his succession? Therefore to begin withal, which I will use presently for a conclusion, if the papists will have the Bishop of Rome supreme head of the church of Christ in earth, they must afore they attain this, give us a Bishop in deed, and not in name.

For whosoever he be that will make this the bond of unity, whatsoever the Bishop of Rome be; surely this must needs follow, that they do nothing else but teach a most wicked defection and departing from Christ. But of this, if God lend me life, I purpose to speak more at large hereafter.

Now, will I betake your Ladyship, unto the tuition of God our Father, and Christ our only head, pastor, and keeper, to whom see that you cleave by true faith, which dependeth only upon the word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your steps, you shall then avoid darkness, and the dangerous deeps, whereinto the papists are fallen by the just judgment of God, and seek to bring us into the same danger with them, that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch. Out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preserve us for his name sake, that we being in his light may continue therein, and walk in it whilst it is day; so shall the night never oppress us, we going from light to light, from virtue to virtue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of God's good spirit, which God our Father give unto us all, for ever and ever, Amen.

From the King's Bench,

Your Brother in bonds, for the testimony of Jesus Christ,

JOHN BRADFORDE.

## No. 34.*

## TO HIS GOOD LADY VANE.

The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus, be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost, Amen.

I most heartily thank you, good Madam, for your comfortable letters, and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions: the truth is, that the questions are never well seen nor answered, until the thing whereof they enquire, be well considered: I mean until it be seen how great an evil the thing is.

If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of God's book, that there was never thing upon the earth, so great and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, to the ministry of God's word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that is whereof the questions† arise, as most assuredly it is indeed; then cannot a christian heart but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God's service.

Again, your Ladyship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of ourselves, in respect of avoiding Christ's Cross; so the end of all our doings should be to godwards, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example, whereof none can be given, in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now, is brief, and needeth the more consideration or example; as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me by God's grace you shall receive the other shortly.‡ For I have already written a little book of it which I will send unto you, in the which you shall

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* Fox iii. 331. Cov. 334.

† These questions were concerning the mass, wherein she desired his judgment. Cov. 83.

‡ See an admonition and several letters upon this subject, post.

have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabouts presently; beseeching God our Father to guide you, as his dear child, with his spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be strong and rejoice in him and with his church, to carry Christ's Cross if he shall so think it need. 1. *Peter* i. which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of God's word, and tried them by that touchstone.

If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity, of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only; if you use yourself to set God's presence, power, and mercy, always before our eyes, to see them as God, by every creature, would you should; I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of satan. God's mercy in Christ be with you, and his good spirit guide you for ever, Amen.

## No. 35.*

## TO THE LADY VANE.

As to mine own soul, I wish to your Ladyship grace and mercy, from God our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both; I would to God he had done so much, in the behalf of the grief of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean his fatherly love, and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, least I should seem to ask too much at one time.

God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his

* Fox iii. 332. Cov. 335.

mercy, them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are sore exercised, as you long have been; than others, who to the face of the world, have more shew and appearance. Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your letters do well espy, which is indeed the high way whereby, as God encreaseth his gifts, so sheweth he more lively his salvation. *Ps.* L. Cvii.

I have received God's blessing from you, the which I have partly distributed unto my three fellow-prisoners, Master Ferrar, Master Taylor, Master Philpot; and the residue I will bestow upon four poor souls, who are imprisoned in the common jail for religion also. As for mine own part, if I had had need, I would have served my turn also. But because I had not, nor, I thank God, have not, I have been and will be your almoner, in such sort as I have already advertised you. God reward you, and give you to find it spiritually and corporally.

Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to show my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us shortly for his mercy's sake, Amen.

Good Madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be, be earnest in prayer, continue in reading and hearing God's word; and if God's further cross come, as therein God doth serve his providence, for else it shall not come unto you, so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 36.*

## TO THE LADY VANE.

The everlasting and most merciful God, which is the Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ, encrease in your Ladyship the knowledge

* Cov. 336.

and love of his truth, with the gift of perseverance to continue therein to the end, Amen.

Albeit at this present, I have no convenient leisure to write as should be seeming to send to your personage, yet considering your gentle good will for God's cause towards me, I thought I might* be the more bold to write something, although not in such sort as I would, and perchance on your behalf might be looked for.

I doubt not but that your Ladyship considereth often with yourself, that you are the child of God, and a citizen of heaven by Christ, in whom God the Father, before the world was made, hath chosen you of his own mere mercy, and not of your deserts done or to be done. That you should with thankfulness call this to mind often, thereby to excite and stir up yourself to the love of God in his sight, and to all holiness of life in the sight of man, many things should move and occasion you justly; as that you were born of christian parents, that the name of God was called upon you in baptism, which is a sacrament of regeneration and adoption into the children of God, with all other benefits which hitherto you have received.

Amongst which surely, your Ladyship should not think the least, even the cross that God hath hitherto exercised you withal; as the loss of your good husband, lands, and other worldly commodities, &c. But above all, next to Christ crucified, this is most thankfully to be considered, that God, as he hath given you patience, I trust, in your trouble; so in these dangerous days he hath given you a desire to know him, and to help them who for his sake be in trouble; for this I gather and evidently see by your twice sending to me, who am not otherwise known to you but by name. I pray God I may be heartily thankful to him for you, and so dispose your benefits as you desire. My best I will do by God's grace, but enough of this.

My desire is, good Madam, although I have no doubt, as I said, but that you be diligent herein; that you would often call to mind your state before God, I mean how that you be his child through Christ; and this I would you did for divers causes. First, that you might be quiet in conscience before him in this troublesome world, as we never can be until this be something settled. Secondly, that

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* Mought.

you might be careful to appear in his sight, and in the sight of man, as one of God's children. Thirdly, that you might in all troubles boldly by prayer through Christ, go to him and call him by the name of Father, with hope of his help always to your comfort. Fourthly, that you might not be dismayed if trouble come unto you, as it cannot be but more or less it must needs come; for the world loveth none but such as be his; the devil can never suffer the children of God to be quiet.

I will not speak of our mortal and familiar enemy the flesh, which ceaseth not to fight against the spirit. But God your father being heartily called upon, in and through Christ; as he will with his holy spirit help you, so will he give you the victory at the length to your singular comfort; which I pray God you may daily more and more feel, Amen. From the King's Bench in haste as appeareth.

Your Ladyship's own in Christ to command,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 37.*

## TO HIS OWN DEAR BROTHER, MASTER LAWRENCE SAUNDERS,

*Prisoner in the Marshalsea.*

God's sweet peace in Christ be with you, my good Brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your concaptives, Amen.

I was letted this morning from musing on that, which I was purposed to have thought on, by reason of you, against whom I saw myself guilty of negligence even in this point, that I would not write, I should say, that I had not written unto you as yet. Therefore out of hand in manner I prepared myself to purge myself

* Fox iii. 320. Cov. 319.

hereof; not that I will go about to excuse my fault, for that were more to load me, but by asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now, then, as I was thus purposing, and partly doing, cometh there one with a letter from you, for the which as I have cause to thank God and you, howbeit not so that you should think I give not the whole to God, so I see myself more blameworthy, for thus long holding my peace.

Howbeit good brother, in this I have given a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and especially in praying for you and for the Church of God; who for my sins and hypocrisy, hypocrisy indeed even in this writing, God deliver me from it, have deserved to be punished.

Just is God, for we have deserved all kinds of plagues at his hands: but yet merciful is he that will on this wise chastise us with this world, ne cum mundo condemnemur. He might otherwise have punished us, I mean, he might have for other causes cast us into prison, me especially, than for his gospel and word's sake; praised therefore be his name, which voucheth us worthy this honour.

Ah, good God, forgive us our sins, and work by this thy fatherly correction on us, on me especially, effectually to love thee and thy Christ; and with joyfulness unto the end, to carry thy cross through thick and thin. Always set before our eyes, not this gallows on earth if we will stick to thee, but the gallows in hell if we deny thee, or swerve from that we have professed.

Ah, good brother, if I could always have God, his majesty, mercy, heaven, hell, &c. before mine eyes, then should I obdurare as Paul writeth of Moses.—*Heb.* xi. Obduravit, inquit, perinde quasi vidisset eum qui est invisibilis. Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks also; for, in Domino spero non mutabo. Si ambulavero per vallem umbræ mortis, non timebo quia tu Domine mecum es, Amen.

I think we shall be shortly called forth; for now legem habent, et secundum legem, &c.—otherwise will they not reason with us; and I think their sheet anchor will be to have us to subscribe; the which thing, if we do, though with this condition, so far as the thing subscribed to repugneth not against God's word, yet, this will be offensive. Therefore let us vadere plané, and so sané; I mean, let us all confess that we are no changelings, but reipsa are the same

we were in religion, and therefore cannot subscribe, except we will dissemble both with God, ourselves, and the world.

Hæc tibi scribo, frater mi charissime in Domino, Iam legam tuam epistolam. Ah, brother, that I had practicam tecum scientiam in vite illa quam pingis; roga Dominum ut ita veré sentiam, Amen. God make me thankful for you. Salutant te omnes concaptivi, et gratias Domino pro te agunt; idem tu facias pro nobis, et ores ut, &c.

Your Brother, in the Lord Jesus, to live and die with you,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 38.*

## TO MASTER LAWRENCE SAUNDERS.

My good brother, I beseech our good God and gracious Father, always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by instruments of his grace, to work his glory, and confusion of his adversaries. Ex ore infantium et lactentium, fundet laudem ad destruendum inimicum, &c. Amen.

I have perused your letters to myself and have read them to others. For answer whereof, if I should write what Dr. Taylor and Master Philpot do think, then must I say, that they think the salt sent unto us by your friend‡ is unseasonable. And indeed I think they both will declare it heartily, if they should come before them.

As for me, if you would know what I think, my good and most dear brother Laurence, because I am so sinful and so polluted,† the Lord knoweth I lie not, with many grievous sins, which yet I hope are washed away sanguine Christi nostri, I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but as a cipher in agrime. Howbeit to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum; I pray God in no case I may seek myself. And, indeed, I thank God therefore, I purpose it

* Fox iii. 320. Cov. 321. † Conspurcate.

‡ This friend moved him to subscribe to the papists' articles with this condition, so far as they were not against God's word, being indeed clean contrary to it; and yet shortly after he valiantly suffered death, for refusing the same.—Cov. 321. Fox 320.

not. Quod reliquum est Domino Deo meo committo, et spero in illum, quod ipse faciet juxta hoc: jacta in Dominum curam, &c. Omnis cura vestra conjecta sit in illum, &c. Revela Domino viam tuam, et spera, &c. Sperantem in Domino misericordia circumdabit.

I did not, nor do not know, but by your letters, quod cras, we shall come, coram nobis. Mine own heart, stick still to dabitur vobis: fidelis enim est Dominus, dabit in tentatione eventum quo possumus sufferre. Novit Dominus pios e tentatione eripere, &c. O utinam pius ego essem. Novit Dominus in die tribulationis sperantes in se, &c.—*Nahum* i.

I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent, or mean conditions; for if we will not adorare bestiam, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I. God our Father and gracious Lord, make perfect the good he hath begun in us. Faciet mi frater, charissime frater, quem in intimis visceribus habeo ad convivendum et commoriendum. O si tecum essem. Pray for me mine own heart-root in the Lord.

For ever your own,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 39.*

## TO THE WORSHIPFUL SIR WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS,†

*Then being Knight Marshal of the King's Bench.*

The peace of God proper to his people, the Holy Ghost work daily and deeply in your heart, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

I thank my Lord and God, through his Son our Mediator and Saviour, for his mercies and graces given to your mastership, the

* Cov. 386.

† He was a good man, and a lover of the gospel.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. 1. 224.

which I beseech his goodness to increase in you continually, to your everlasting comfort in him. By his mercies towards you, I mean not in your lands, possessions, offices, natural wisdom, rights, health, form, &c. which indeed be gifts of God given to you of his mercy without your deserts, and therefore should He be daily of you praised for the same, as I doubt not but he is; for else your ingratitude would provoke him to punish you in them and by them, if he love you. But I mean his mercies towards you, in the knowledge and love of his truth in religion.

The which benefit in that you, amongst the not many of your estate and condition, as St. Paul witnesseth, have received as a very testimonial of your election in Christ, I would be sorry that you should need any such as I am, to move you to thankfulness; for I am not in a mammering whether you be thankful to God for this great mercy, which is much more to be esteemed than all that ever you have; I humbly beseech God in his Christ, to increase the same in you to the very end. And that by me he might do the same in some part, I thought it good and also my bounden duty, deeply deserved on your behalf towards me, for the which I beseech the Lord to reward you, to send to you this treatise* of the doings of Master Ridley at Oxford, concerning his disputation about the sacrament. I know that there have gone divers copies abroad, but none of them were, as I know this is; for I have translated it out of that copy in Latin which was corrected with his own hand, which came unto me not without his own consent, and therefore dare I be bold to say, that this hath not before been seen on this sort.

In reading whereof you shall well see this I speak to be most true; and also that which causeth me to suppress commendations of the thing, the excellency and worthiness thereof I mean, because I think I cannot speak any thing so worthily, as undoubtedly these his doings do deserve. Unto your Mastership I send them as a token of my duty towards you, thereby to declare, that as you deserve much of me, so I would shew myself willing to recompense the same if I could; but in that I cannot, and also your doing it simply in respect of God and his cause, I will according to your expectation leave the

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* This treatise is given by Fox at full length, vol. iii. 61.

recompense unto him, in the mean season praying him that of his goodness he would, as encrease the knowledge and love of his truth in you, so strengthen you after your vocation, both purely to walk and manfully to confess his gospel, if he shall think it needful to call you to that honour, for surely of all honours it is the greatest to suffer any thing for Christ's sake.

Most happy may that man think himself that hath any thing for *his* cause to lose. As he shall be sure to find for his own part eternal felicity and honour endless; so shall his posterity, even temporally, prove this to be most true. For God's sake therefore, right worshipful Sir, consider well this gear, and weigh it not as the world and your mother-wit will move you to do, but as the word of God doth teach you; there shall you see this I speak of, to be matter of much mirth, joy, and glory, though to the world it seem clean contrary. God's good spirit always guide you to his glory, and give you the spirit of prayer, continually to pray that God never further tempt you, than he will make you able to bear, Amen.

In that this copy is not so fair written as I wish and would have had it, I shall desire you to consider where I am, and how I cannot have things so done as I would, and therefore you have it as may be, when it may not be as I would it were and should be. From the King's Bench.

Your humble,

JOHN BRADFORDE.

## No. 40.*

## TO MRS. M. H.

*A godly gentlewoman, comforting her in that common heaviness and godly sorrow, which the feeling and sense of sin worketh in God's children.*

I humbly and heartily pray the everliving good God and father of mercy, to bless and keep your heart and mind in the knowledge

* Fox iii. 327. Cov. 298.

and love of his truth, and of his Christ, through the inspiration and working of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

Although I have no doubt, but that you prosper and go forwards daily in the way of godliness, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write, yet because my desire is, that you might be more fervent and persevere to the end; I could not but write something unto you, beseeching you both often and diligently, to call unto your mind as a mean to stir you hereunto, yea, as a thing which God most straitly requireth you to believe, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your dear father in, through, and for Christ and his death's sake. This love and tender kindness of God towards us in Christ is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath to the godly work of creation of this world, made us after his image, redeemed us being lost, called us into his church, sealed us with his mark and sign manual of baptism, kept and conserved us all the days of our life; fed, nourished, defended, and most fatherly chastised us; and now hath kindled in our hearts the sparkles of his fear, faith, love, and knowledge of his Christ and truth; and therefore we lament, because we lament no more our unthankfulness, our failings, our diffidence, and wavering, in things wherein we should be most certain.

All these things we should use, as means to confirm our faith of this, that God is our God and Father, and to assure us that he loveth us as our father in Christ; to this end, I say, we should use the things before touched, especially in that of all things God requireth this faith and persuasion of his fatherly goodness, as his chiefest service. For before he ask any thing of us, he saith; I am the Lord thy God, giving himself, and then all he hath to us, to be our own. And this he doth in respect of himself, of his own mercy and truth, and not in respect of us, for then were grace no grace. In consideration whereof, when he saith, Thou shalt have none other Gods but me, thou shalt love me with all thy heart, &c.; though of duty we are bound to accomplish all that he requireth, and are culpable and guilty if we do not the same; yet he requireth not these things further of us, than to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certainty whereof, as he hath given this whole world to serve to our need and commodity, so hath

he given his Son Christ Jesus, and in Christ, himself to be a pledge and gage, whereof the Holy Ghost doth now and then, give us some taste and sweet smell to our eternal joy.

Therefore, as I said, because God is your Father in Christ, and requireth of you straitly to believe it, give yourself to obedience, although you do it not with such feeling as you desire. First, must faith go before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many evils, should be occasions whereby satan would have us to doubt, as much as we can let us abhor that suggestion, as of all others most pernicious; for so indeed it is. For when we stand in a doubt whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankful to God, we cannot heartily pray, or think any thing we do acceptable to God; we cannot love our neighbours, and give over ourselves to care for them, and do for them as we should do; and therefore satan is most subtle hereabouts, knowing full well that if we doubt of God's fatherly eternal mercies towards us through Christ, we cannot please God, or do any thing as we should do to man. Continually casteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailty, falls, and offences, that we should doubt of God's mercy and favour towards us.

Therefore, my good Sister, we must not be sluggish herein, but as satan laboureth to loosen our faith, so must we labour to fasten it, by thinking on the promises and covenant of God in Christ's Blood, namely, that God is our God with all that even he hath; which covenant dependeth and hangeth upon God's own goodness, mercy, and truth only; and not on our obedience or worthiness in any point, for then should we never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not that thereby we might be his children and he our father; but because he is our father and we his children, through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requireth he faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthiness which he requireth, should we doubt whether he be our father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our Father. But rather because he is our Father, and we feel ourselves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to a shamefacedness and blushing, because we are not as we should be; and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our Father in prayer on this manner.

'Dear Father, thou of thine own mercy in Christ, hast chosen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldest I should be brought into thy church, and faithful company of thy children, wherein thou hast kept me hitherto, thy name therefore be praised. Now I see myself to want faith, hope, love, &c. which thy children have, and thou requirest of me, wherethrough the devil would have me to doubt, yea utterly to despair of thy fatherly goodness, favour, and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my merciful father through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me—good Lord, help me—and give me faith, hope, love, &c. and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to assure me that thou art my father; that this merciful covenant thou madest with me in respect of thy grace, in Christ and for Christ, and not in respect of any my worthiness, is always true to me, &c.'

On this sort, I say, you must pray and use your cogitations, when satan would have you to doubt of salvation. He doth all he can to prevail herein; do you all you can, to prevail herein against him. Though you feel not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did. Faith, always, as I said, goeth before feeling. As certain as God is Almighty, as certain as God is merciful, as certain as God is true, as certain as Christ was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; as certain as this is God's commandment, I am the Lord thy God; so certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have none other Gods but him, so are you no less bound to believe that God is your God. What profit should it be to you to believe this to be true; I am the Lord thy God, to others, if you should not believe that this is true to yourself? The devil believeth on this sort. And whatsoever it be that would move you to doubt of this, whether God be your God through Christ, that same cometh undoubtedly of the devil. Wherefore did God make you, but because he loved you? Might not he have made you blind, dumb, deaf, lame, frantic, &c.? Might not he have made you a Jew, a Turk, a Papist, &c.? And why hath he not done so? Verily, because he loved you. And why did he love you? What was there in you to make him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness in Christ. Now then in that his

goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was; that is, even as great as himself, for it cannot be lessened, how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, my good Sister, for God is no changeling, them whom he loveth he loveth to the end.

Cast, therefore yourself wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are God's child, that you are a citizen of heaven, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the Holy Ghost, &c. If hereof you be assured, as you ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted, then shall you lament more and more, that you want many things which God loveth; then shall you labour to be holy in soul and body, then shall you go about that God's glory may shine in all your words and works; then shall you not be afraid what man can do unto you, then shall you have such wisdom to answer your adversaries, as shall serve to their shame and your comfort; then shall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head, further than shall please your good Father to your everlasting joy; then shall you be most certain that God as your good Father, will be more careful for your children, and make better provision for them, if all you have were gone, than you can; then shall you, being assured, I say, of God's favour towards you, give over yourself wholly to help and care for others that be in need; then shall you contemn this life, and desire to be at home with your good and sweet Father; then shall you labour to mortify all things that would spot either soul or body. All these things spring out of this certain persuasion and faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children by Christ Jesus. All things should help our faith herein; but satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

Therefore let us use earnest and hearty prayer; let us often remember this covenant, I am the Lord thy God; let us look upon Christ and his precious blood, shed for the obsignation and confirmation of his covenant. Let us remember all the free promises of the gospel: let us set before us God's benefits generally in making this world, in ruling it, in governing it, in teaching and keeping his church, &c. Let us set before us God's benefits particularly, how he hath made us creatures after his image; how he hath made us of perfect limbs, form, beauty, memory, &c.; how he hath made us christians, and given us a right judgment in his religion; how he

hath ever since we were born, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath spared us, and doth now spare us, giving us time, space, place, grace. This if you do, and use earnest prayer, and so fly from all things which might wound your conscience, giving yourself to diligence in your vocation; you shall find at the length that, which God grant to me with you, a sure certainty of salvation, without all such doubt as may trouble the peace of conscience, to your eternal joy and comfort, Amen, Amen.

Your's to use in Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 41.*

## TO THE SAME PERSON, FULL OF GODLY COMFORT.

The good spirit of God which guideth his children, be with you, my good Sister in the Lord for ever, Amen.

Although, as I to you, so you unto me in person are unknown, yet to him whom we desire to please, we are not only in persons, but also in hearts known and thoroughly seen. And therefore, as for his sake, you would by that you sent, of me be perceived how that in God you bear to me a good will; so, that I to you might be seen in God, to bear you the like, I send to you these few words in writing, wishing that in all your doings and speech, yea even in your very thoughts, you would labour to feel that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and prayer made to God for the working of his spirit, thereby as a mean, you shall at the length feel more comfort and commodity, than any man can know but such as be exercised therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking yourself and all that you have, and do, to be in the sight of God: this, I say, is

* Fox iii. 329. Cov. 303.

to be added that you think his sight is the sight, not only of a Lord, but rather of a father, who tendereth more your infirmities, than you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea, when in yourself, you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weak; let the same be unto you a trace, to train you to see the unspeakable kind affection, of God your Father towards you.

And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occasion to go to God as your Father, through Christ, and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with desire of pardon and help after his good will and pleasure, but in his time and not when you will, and by what means he will, not by that way you would; in the mean season hang on hope of his fatherly goodness, and surely you shall never be ashamed. For if a woman that is natural cannot finally forget the child of her womb, be sure God, who is a father supernatural, cannot, nor will not forget you. Yea, if a woman could be so forgetful, yet God himself saith, he will not be so.

This opinion, yea rather certain persuasion of God your Father through Christ, see that you cherish; and by all means, as well of diligent consideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourish; knowing for certain that as the devil goeth about nothing so much, as to bring you in a doubt, whether you be God's child or no; so whatsoever shall move you to admit that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the devil. If you feel in yourself not only the want of good things, but also plenty of evil, do not therefore doubt whether you be God's child in Christ or no.

For if for your goodness, or illness sake, which you feel or feel not, you should believe or doubt, then should you make Christ Jesus, for whose sake only God is your Father, either nothing, or else but a half Christ.

But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as to your Father, and to pray him that inasmuch as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father, so he would give you his good spirit, that you might feel the same, and live as his child to his glory. And cease not upon

such prayers, to look for comfort in God's good time, still hoping the best, and rejecting all dubitation, and so all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord shall enable you by his good spirit and grace; which I beseech him to give unto you my good Sister for ever.

And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be a helper unto your husband, so you would endeavour yourself therein to shew the same as well in soul as body; and beg grace of God, that your endeavours may be effectual to both your comforts in Christ. Amen.

JOHN BRADFORDE.

## No. 42.*

## TO HIS GOOD SISTER, M. H.

The peace of God, with increase of faith, and feeling of his mercy to your comfort in Christ, the Holy Ghost wake in your heart, now and for ever, Amen.

As it is much to my comfort that God hath given you such a love and zeal to his truth; so I exhort you, my good Sister, diligently to labour, as by continual reading and meditation of God's holy word, so by earnest prayer and other godly exercises, to maintain and encrease the same; that by the feeling of God's gracious spirit working in you such good fruits as witnesses of your faith, you may grow in strength thereof, and certainty of God's favour, and good will towards you.

For above all things, of this I would have you to be most assured, that you are beloved of God; that you are his dear child, and shall be for evermore through Christ, in whom you are by faith, and he in you. Out of this certainty, the cause whereof is God's own goodness, grace, and truth, springeth true love, and loving fear, and

* Cov. 426.

obedience to God continually, and in all things. Where it is, I mean this faith, certainty, and persuasion of God's eternal goodness to you in Christ, there no sins are imputed to you, or laid to your charge to condemnation, nor shall be: though for correction sake, now and then, your heavenly father visit them fatherly, or rather you for them. Where it is not, there is nothing, be it never so well done, that pleaseth God.

Labour therefore for this certainty of faith, through Christ. Whensoever you doubt, you heap sin upon sin. If satan, your conscience, or God's law, do accuse you, confess your fault, and hide it not before the Lord. But when they would infer, that because of your sin, you are condemned, you are cast away; then answer them that it is but their office to accuse and witness, not to give sentence and judge; it only appertaineth to God to give judgment. Paul saith, it is God that absolveth, who then shall condemn us?

God himself promiseth, before he demand any thing of us, that he is our Lord and our God; and are not they happy who have the Lord for their God? Is he God to any whose sins he remitteth not? Through Christ he is our Father, and therefore we are commanded so to call him; and can there want any fatherly kindness in him towards us, who be his children? No, verily. Therefore, be sure, and waver not of God's love and favour towards you in Christ. The cause of his love is his own goodness and mercy; this lasting for ever, his love lasteth for ever. How can you then but be quiet and happy? Use this gear to comfort the weak conscience, and not to unbridle the mighty affections of the flesh, or old Adam, which must have other meat.

Your own in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 43.*

## TO A FAITHFUL WOMAN

*In her heaviness and trouble; most comfortable for all those that are afflicted and broken hearted, for their sins.*

Ah, my dearly beloved, and most dearly beloved in the Lord, how pensive is my heart presently for you by reason of the fearful judgment of our God, which even now I heard for truth by Richard Proude. God, our good Father, for his great mercies' sake in Christ, have mercy upon us; and with his eternal consolation so comfort you, my dear heart, as I desire, in my most need, so to be comforted of him. Yea, he will comfort you (my dear Sister) only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you, Amen.

The cause why since the receipt of your letter, I have not sent unto you, this bringer can tell you; yea if I had not heard for truth of this heavy chance, as yet you had not thus soon heard from me. For I began of late a piece of work for your comfort, whereof I send you now but a part, because my heart is heavy for your sake, and I cannot be quiet till I hear how you do in this cross, wherein, my dear Sister, I beseech you to be of good comfort, and to be no more discouraged than was David at Absalom's death; the good Jonathan at his father Saul's fearful end; Adam at that of Cain; Noah of Cham: Jacob of Reuben, and the godly Bathsheba, at the terrible end of her father, or at least her grandfather, Achitophel.

Not that I utterly condemn and judge your Father,† for I leave it to God, but because the fact, of itself, declareth God's secret and fearful judgment and justice, towards him and all men, and his great mercy towards us, admonishing all the world how that he is to be dreaded and feared, and satan not to sleep; and as his children, especially, how weak and miserable we be of ourselves, and how happy we are in him, who have him to be our father, protector, and keeper—and shall live for evermore, so that no evil shall touch us, further than shall make to our father's glory, and to our everlasting commodity.

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* Fox iii. 329. Cov. 322.

† This was most probably written to a daughter of Sir James Hales.

And therefore let this judgment of God, be an occasion to stir us up, more carefully to walk before God, and unfeignedly to cast our whole care upon our dear Father, who never can nor will leave us, for his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them. —*Rom.* xi. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end; none of his chosen can perish; of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved Sister. God increase the faith thereof daily more and more in you; may he give unto you to hang wholly on him, and on his providence and protection: for whoso dwelleth under that secret thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cocksure for evermore. He that dwelleth, I say; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Segor,* where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled there still; we shall remove to our loss, as he did into the mountains.— *Gen.* xix.

Dwell therefore, that is, trust, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord, (my dear Sister) and you shall be as Mount Sion. As mountains compass Jerusalem, so doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear Son's sake? Ah, dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a Simon to help to carry your cross with you; God send you some good Simon, to be with you and help you. I will be a Simon absent to carry, as I can bear, your cross, which you have promised not to hide from me; Oh, that God would heartily touch your husband's heart, so that he would get him beyond the seas, although by that means I should never more corporally see you, as indeed I fear it, I fear it, but God's good will be done. I have written to him, God for his mercy's sake turn it to your and his good, Amen.

But to come again to that whence I have digressed, whereunto you occasion me also by your letters, complaining to me of the blindness of your mind, and of the troubles you feel through talk with some.

My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which God hath given unto you; may he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous or rather impatient, for so (I fear me) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the

* The City Zoar is so written in the Vulgate.

Canticles? Oh, Joyce, my good Joyce, what a gift is this? Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet with the Magdalen, but you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth, *Canticles* i. You would see his face with Moses, forgetting how he biddeth us seek his face.—*Psalm* xxvii. Yea, and that for ever.—*Psalm* cv. Which signifieth no such sight as you desire, to be in this present life, which would see God now face to face; whereas he cannot be seen, but covered under something, yea, sometime in that which is (as you would say) clean contrary to God; as to see his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to hell, faith seeth him to bring us to heaven; in darkness it beholdeth brightness; in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job see God, but (as you would say) under satan's cloak? For, who cast the fire from heaven upon his goods? who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his cattle, but satan? and yet Job pierced through all these, and saw God's work, saying, *The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c.*

In reading of the psalms how often do you see that David, in the shadow of death, saw God's sweet love? And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you in your darkness and dimness, by faith do see clarity and brightness. By faith, I say, because faith is of things absent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your conscience, whether you desire or not. And can you desire any thing which you know not? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge than by faith?

Therefore (my dear heart) be thankful, for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah, my Joyce, how happy is the state wherein you are? Verily you are even in the blessed state of God's children; for they mourn, and do not you so? And that not for the worldly weal, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness? And I pray you, saith not Christ who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye shed no tears? How could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth ye find it? How could ye desire to be at home, if in your journey you found no

grief? How could you so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy should sleep all the day long? How should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel sorrow and misery. If you will go to heaven, you must sail by hell. If you would embrace Christ in his robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags. If you would sit at Christ's table in his kingdom, you must first abide with him in his temptations. If you will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of ignominy.

Can the head corner stone be rejected, and the other more base stones in God's building be in this world set by? You are one of his lively stones; be content therefore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows, which suffer with you satan's snatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conscience, and threats of the flesh, wherethrough they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are, who shall deliver us? You are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millstone, nor oven. You are one of Christ's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

If you were a market-sheep, you should go in more fat and grassy pasture. If you were for the fair, you should be stall-fed, and want no weal. But because you are of God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are you (my dear Sister) that God haleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little and be still. Let satan rage against you, let the world cry out, let your conscience accuse you, let the law load you and press you down, yet shall they not prevail, for Christ is Emanuel, that is, God with us. *If God be with us, who can be against us?* The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you; your spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise, cry with Peter, *Lord, I perish;* and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope, and it will not cease for all the stormy surges, till it take hold on the rock of God's truth and mercy.

Think not that he who hath given you so many things corporally, as inductions of spiritual and heavenly mercies, and that without your deserts or desire, can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For if he give to desire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which, you asking, he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask, he will grant the same, as Isaiah saith, to his glory and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will not, nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

If he had not chosen you (as most certainly he hath) he would not have so called you; he would never have justified you; he would never have so glorified you with his gracious gifts, which I know, praised be his name therefore; he would never have so exercised your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if (I say) he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you (as doubtless dear heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where and when) if, I say, he hath chosen you, then neither can you nor ever shall you perish: for if you fall, he putteth under his hand. You shall not lie still; so careful is Christ your keeper over you. Never was mother so mindful over her child, as he is over you, and hath not he always been so?

Speak, woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he now, trow you, in your most need do otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please him? Ah (my Joyce) think you God to be mutable? Is he a changeling? Doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them? For else were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the spirit, which is the spirit of truth told you so? And will you now hearken with Eve to the lying spirit, which would have you, not to despair (no, he goeth more craftily to work, howbeit to that end, if you should give ear unto it, which God forbid) but to doubt and stand in a mammering, and so should

you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for your unworthiness and unthankfulness; as though your thankfulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you or will finally keep you.

Ah, mine own dear heart, Christ only, Christ only, and his mercy and truth. In him is the cause of your election. This Christ, this mercy, this truth of God remaineth for ever, is certain for ever; I say, for ever. If an angel from heaven should tell you the contrary, accursed be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your election; they are no causes. These fruits and effects shall be so much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you waver not.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) arise, and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a shepherd who never slumbereth nor sleepeth; no man nor devil can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the psalms, *the Lord is my shepherd, I can want nothing*. Do you not know that God sparred* Noah in the ark on the outside, so that he could not get out? So hath he done to you (my good Sister), so hath he done to you. Ten thousand shall fall on your right hand and twenty thousand on your left, yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly therefore, *many a time from my youth up have they fought against me*, but they have not prevailed; no, nor never shall prevail, for the Lord is round about his people. And who are the people of God but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of those, my dear heart, for I am assured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to shew most manifestly, and I know they were written unfeignedly. I need not to say, that even before God you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes, no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtless had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you feel it again; for the anger of the Lord lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me (my dear heart) who hath so weakened you? Surely not a persuasion which came from him who called you. For why should you waver and be so heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On yourself? On your worthiness? On your thank-

* Shut-up.—*Sax.*

fulness? On that which God requireth of you; as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.? Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love you, &c. as much as you should do? No, no, nor ever can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you so soon forgotten that which ever should be had in memory? Namely, that when you would and should be certain and quiet in conscience, then should your faith burst throughout all things; not only that you have in you, or else are in heaven, earth, or hell, until it come to Christ crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and goodness of God in Christ? Here, here is the resting place: here is your spouse's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him. Bewail your weakness, your unworthiness, your diffidence, &c. and you shall see he will turn to you. What said I, you shall see? Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that Moses, when he went into the mount to talk with God, entered into a dark cloud; and Elijah had his face covered when God passed by. Both these dear friends of God heard God, but they saw him not; but you would be preferred before them. See now (my dear heart) how covetous you are. Ah! be thankful, be thankful. But God be praised your covetousness is Moses' covetousness. Well, with him you shall be satisfied: But when? Forsooth when he shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were, in a glass. Isaac was deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

Therefore to make an end of these many words, wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Christ before the beginning of all times; inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful, and thereto hath all power, so that you shall never perish; no, one hair of your head shall not be lost: I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you, I crave at your hands with all my very heart; I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue and mind, in Christ, through Christ, for Christ, for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's sake (my most entirely beloved Sister) that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel yourself; but complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things; and in that time which shall be most opportune, you shall

find and feel, far above that your heart, or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; may he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore.—Amen. The good spirit of God always keep us as his dear children, he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore.—Amen. I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer time calleth me. The peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever.—Amen.

As for the report of W. P., if it be as you hear, you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, *Do well, and hear evil.* Be content therefore to hear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you, Amen, Amen. This eight of August, by him that in the Lord desireth to you, as well and as much felicity, as to his own heart.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 44.*

## TO MRS. J. H.

*A faithful woman, and fearing God, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the cross, and not to fear death.*

My dearly beloved, I beseech our merciful Father to comfort your heavy and pensive heart, with his own consolations in Christ; as I am assured he will in his own good time; which with patience look for, good Sister, after the example of Job, Elias, Abraham, and all the dear saints of God, who are set forth unto us for patterns† of patience. God grant us well to cut our cloth after them, for God is the same God now, and the end will shew that he is a merciful Lord, and full of compassion. My dear Sister, you shall unfeignedly feel it at the length, though presently it seemeth otherwise unto your

* Cov. 306. Evidently to the same person as the last.

† Patrons.

sense; you shall, after you be a little exercised herein, find a quiet fruit of righteousness, the God of grace which hath called you unto his eternal glory, confirming and strengthening you, being some deal afflicted with your Brethren and Sisters that be in the world, for alone you suffer not as I trust you know.

It comforted me to read in your letters, that no displeasure of father, mother, husband, children, &c. doth move you to be ruled after the counsel of the world, and therefore you will me not to be afraid for you. Oh, my beloved, what thanks should I give to our God and dear Father, for this his exceeding kindness towards you? His name be magnified for you for ever; his mercy be more and more multiplied unto you, in you, and upon you, for ever and ever, Amen. God make me thankful herefore. But you add that the fear of death, doth now and then move you a little, howbeit you say, that as I have counselled you, you will strive thereagainst. My good Joyce, I take you at your word, keep promise, I pray you; that is, strive against it, and I promise you in the name of the Lord, that you shall have the victory, which I would wish you to set before your eyes also, and so shall the terror of death trouble you the less.

Soldiers going to war, set not before their eyes simply the strife, but rather the victory; and my good Sister, will not you herein follow them? In your travail with child doth not the hope of the babe to be delivered, mitigate the malady? Doth not the sick, in taking bitter and loathsome physic, set before him the commodity that will ensue? And, my dear Sister, will not you by these be something informed? Consider what this life is; consider what death is; consider what is prepared for you after death. Concerning this life, you know that it is full of misery, vanity, and woe: it is a plain exile, and hath nothing in it permanent.

It is therefore compared to a vapour, to a smoke, to a shadow, yea, to a warfare, a wilderness, a vale of wretchedness, wherein we are compassed on every side with most fierce and fearful enemies; and should we desire to dwell here? should we lust to live in this loathsome and laborious life? should we wish to tarry in this wretchedness? should we have pleasure to remain in this perilous state? Daniel's den is not so dreadful, as is this dungeon we dwell in.

Concerning death to them that be, as I know you are, God's dear

children, my tenderly beloved Sister, what other thing is it than the dispatcher of all displeasure, the end of all travail, the door of desires, the gate of gladness, the port of paradise, the haven of heaven, the rail of rest and quietness, the entrance to felicity, the blessing of all blissfulness? It is the very bed of down, and therefore well compared to a sleep, for the doleful bodies of God's people to rest in, out of the which they shall rise and awake, most fresh and lusty to life everlasting.

It is a passage to the Father, a chariot to heaven, the Lord's messenger, a leader unto Christ, a going to our home, a deliverance from bondage and prison, a dismission from war, a security from all sorrows, and a manumission from all misery. So that the very heathen did in some places cause the day of their death to be celebrated with mirth, melody, and minstrelsy, and should we be dismayed at it? should we be afraid of it? should we tremble to hear of it? should such a friend as it is, be unwelcome? should the foulness of his face fear us from his good conditions? should the hardness of his husk hinder us from his sweet kernel? should the roughness of the tide tie us to the bank and shore, there to be drowned, rather than the desire of our home drive us to go abroad? should the hardness of the saddle set us on our feet to perish by the way, rather than to leap up and endure the same a little, and so to be where we would be?

Concerning that which is prepared for you after death, if I should go about to express it, the more I should so do, the further I should be from it. For the eye hath not seen, neither the ear hath heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive in any point, the joy, mirth, melody, pleasure, power, wealth, riches, honour, beauty, fellowship, dainties, odours, glory, wisdom, knowledge, treasures, security, peace, quietness, and eternal felicity, which you shall have and enjoy world without end, with God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; with the angels, archangels; with the patriarchs and prophets; with the apostles and evangelists; with the martyrs and confessors; and with all the saints of God, in the palace of the Lord, in heaven, the kingdom of God, the glory of the Father.

Oh woe to the blindness of our eyes that see not this! woe to the hardness of our hearts that feel not this! woe to the deafness of our ears that hear not this in such sort as we should do; wherethrough

we might be so far from fearing death, that rather we should wish it, crying with Simeon; Now let thy servant depart in peace: with Paul, I desire to be dissolved* and to be with Christ; with David, When shall I come and appear before thee? and again, Oh woe is me that my habitation is thus prolonged, &c. But, alas, dear Sister, great is our unbelief, Full faint is our faith, or else night and day tears should be our bread and drink, whilst it is said unto us, where is your GOD?

It is a token of little love to God, to be loth to go unto him when he calleth. If my dearest friend, of a special favour and tender good will, should send a horse for me to come unto him, should I be displeased thereat? Yea, should I not be willing and glad to come unto him? And, alas, yet if death, the Lord's palfrey, the Lord's messenger should come, I think I should not be so ready, but be fearful as you foresee yourself to be.

Wherethrough, I doubt not, but you take occasion to lament the weakness of your faith, and seeing your need, to prepare for remedy against the time of need, and to beg of GOD his aid, strength, and comfort, against that pinch, which undoubtedly you shall have, and find his promise true, that in an acceptable time, he heard your prayer. Such as I am, have no such foresight of death, and therefore are less presently dismayed, which will turn to our greater grief in the plunge; save that for my part, I hope he will never tempt me, further than he will make me able to bear. Into his hands I offer myself, beseeching him for his Christ's sake, to keep me soul and body, to his kingdom and glory; and to lead me, order me, and dispose of me, as he will, in all things, in all places, and for ever; that at the length I may come whither I will, that is, unto his own blessed presence and fruition of immortality, with you and his saints, Amen.

Thus much I thought good to write unto you for this present, to occasion you the less to fear death, which either needeth not or boteth not; and therefore even reasonable men, much more spiritual men, labour to strive against the fear of that which they can by no means avoid. But of this hereafter, I trust, mouth to mouth to speak with you. Now as to my soul, I pray and wish unto you, my most dear Sister in

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* Dissoulved.

the Lord, whose grace guide you, and his mercy embrace you, on every side for ever, Amen.

Your's,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 45.*

## TO A PIOUS LADY,

Jesus is God with us.—1554.

The grace of God the Father, and the wisdom of our Saviour Jesu Christ through the Holy Ghost, confirm you in the love of the truth to the end.—Amen.

I have much rejoiced, perceiving your ladyship's earnest zeal towards the gospel of Christ, especially in these troublesome days, in the which the verity is deadly persecuted. Blessed be God that hath given you so bold a spirit that you are not ashamed of his gospel, which is a plain token that you be the very elect child of God; if you hold fast to the end this godly confession. But this you cannot do unless you be content to suffer such persecutions as commonly do follow the same; for as St. Peter teacheth us, it is not only given us to believe, but also to suffer for the same. Christ and the cross do go together, and joy doth follow affliction, the which our Saviour in the gospel hath signified unto us, saying that we must, through many troubles, enter into the kingdom of heaven. The dear disciples of Christ would fain have overskipped the same, and been placed at his right hand and at his left, but it would not be granted, before they had tasted of the cup which they should drink of. We are very far inferiors unto them in all good things; but if we be like unto them in suffering, we shall assuredly be partakers of their glory.

* Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. No. 416. Fo. 35.

There is no outward thing in the world that doth more assure us of the favour of God and of everlasting life, than persecution for the righteousness of God's word; and therefore St. Paul to the Galatians saith in his troubles, that he carried the mark of our Saviour Jesus Christ in his body. O how desirable a thing is it for the servant to be like to his master! O how glorious a thing is the cross that purchaseth eternal bliss! Verily we are not worthy to carry the cross of Christ; the Lord for his mercy sake make us worthy, that we may esteem it as the chiefest handfast of our joy. If we consider what is prepared for us in the same, there is nothing in the world that we should rather desire; *for as St. Paul witnesseth, the momentary lightness of afflictions doth bring forth an eternal weight of glory.* Why then should we shrink? Why now should we be afraid, since by the cross which is offered us, the kingdom of God approacheth nigher unto us? Now, as Christ said, *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and such as be violent do take the same.* The Lord loveth no coward in his cause, for such as be faint-hearted in the Lord, are excluded the kingdom of heaven in the Apocalypse. Antichrist, which now by the will of God doth rage for the trial of our faith, doth nothing else but procure us a ready horse to bring us unto heaven; but you perhaps do think this horse to be too hot for your riding, and that you are not able to set him, he is so terrible and so fiery: yet, good madam, if you ride him with the snaffle of patience, and in your hand hold forth the buckler of faith, you shall be able to abide at his outrageous courses and flaming flying. Moses saw God in a fiery bush; Elias, the prophet, was carried to heaven in a fiery chariot; God maketh his angels a flame of fire, yea, God himself is a consuming fire. Wherefore, then, shall we be afraid to pass unto God through fire, since it is his angel sent unto us, to bring us to our eternal inheritance, in the which we are made approved gold for the Lord's household?

The fire to us that be faithful is nothing so terrible as it is to the unfaithful, for we know that it shall have no further force in us, than is the good pleasure of God that we shall be able to bear; for he hath promised a good success unto us in the very midst of our troubles, so that we shall not be further tempted than our God will be assistant with us, let us not mistrust the help of God to be present with us in our

necessities, since that he hath promised, by the mouth of the prophet David, to be present with us in our trouble, and that he will speedily deliver us out of the same, and glorify us; let us cast our care upon God, and he will comfort us, we are his creatures and we must be content to set forth his glory by such ways as he doth appoint us, and not after our wills; he is our Lord, and we ought humbly to submit our neck to that yoke which he hath appointed us to bear, we may not appoint God our end, but we must be content with that end as he doth now offer us; to the which if we be obedient, we shall receive the inheritance of his obedient children; but if we murmur, grudge, or be afraid of his prescribed ways, we shall exclude ourselves from everlasting life; like as the Children of Israel did, when God had delivered them out of the miserable servitude of Egypt, and appointed to have brought them into the land of promise; who contrary to the Lord's calling, being afraid of the terrible giants which they heard to be dwelling in the same land, murmured against God, and would have turned back again for fear into Egypt, whereby they were forty years afflicted in the wilderness, and entered not into that land of behest, but perished through their murmuring infidelity.

Let us beware that we lose not our heavenly inheritance by like transgression, if we do not willingly take up that cross which God now hath prepared for us; let us not go about to chuse what kind of cross we list, but being content with that which is offered by the will of God, be it never so terrible or cruel, let us pray that we may have patience and strength, to shew ourselves faithful in the same; rejoicing that God giveth us any occasion to glorify his holy name, and to declare our faithful service we owe unto him. He were to be counted no faithful subject, who of his sovereign being appointed to serve one way, would indent to serve another way; neither were he worthy to be taken for a true servant, who having his manner of service appointed by his master, doth withdraw himself from doing the same, and doth otherwise serve at his own pleasure.

If we cannot but think this, an evident disobedient frowardness of man to man, worthy great punishment; what shall we think of man's wilful declining, murmuring, and grudging from the holy precepts and faithful prescribed service, of our everlasting king and mighty lord, master, defender, and nourisher. O what unthankful creatures

are we, so little to regard our creator! O faithless hearts that do fear man more than God, that be content to serve man above God! O blindness of eyes that do more readily behold the earth than heaven; may they look for heaven, that be more willing to serve the world than God? That which men do seek they shall find, and according to that which they follow, the reward will be; every body shall receive after the work of his own hands. If we now labour with Christ, we shall be rewarded with Christ; if we serve him faithfully after the talents of our vocation, according to his gospel, we shall enter into the joy of our lord and master; now at noon day the good husbandman calleth us to work in his vineyard, to the which calling, if we be obedient, and be content to suffer the heat and fervent burning of the day, we shall have the penny of eternal life; the which, otherwise forsaking this calling, we are like to lose.

If I should, all the days of my life, devise a ready way for you to go unto heaven, I am certain there is none so ready and so certain as this is, to take up your cross and to follow Christ. This is a hard word to the Capernite and to such as be worldly affected; but that which is impossible to the flesh and to man, is possible unto God; for it is the spirit of God which doth help our infirmities, by whom we are able to mortify the affections of the body, and are made strong, against all the fiery darts of the devil and of the world. The mean to attain this spirit, is to follow the counsel of David, saying, Forget then the people and the house of thy father, and the king shall be desirous of thy beauty. Therefore, dearly beloved, walk in the spirit, and transform not yourself to the fashion of the world, neither do after the concupiscence of the flesh, for he that will be a friend of the world, is become an enemy to God.

We are bound to offer our bodies a lively, holy, and acceptable sacrifice unto God, now have we good opportunity so to do; the Lord make us willing and glad priests, to offer this our reasonable service which we owe unto God; for this cause are we all called of St. Peter both priests and kings; priests, to the end we should sacrifice our bodies to God; kings, because we should subdue our affections and rule our bodies; to this point we can be content, for man's pleasure, or for a small reward, to venture our life; the which being once lost no man can restore again, neither redeem by any price; and cannot

be content to do the like at God's holy will, who, though we be dead, can give us life, and reward us with eternal felicity. What is he that being in the cross doth not leap for joy, knowing that he shall pass from death to life, from misery to bliss, from temporal delights to eternal joys, from shame to glory, from wordly commodities to everlasting possessions in heaven?

If he doubt the note of God's promise, or say in his heart there is no God, as the wicked do; the Lord's spirit doth fly away from all feigned things, as it is written in the first of the Book of Wisdom; and therefore our Saviour commandeth all true believers, in the Gospel of St. John, to worship God in spirit and verity; so that in no wise we may worship God in the papistical synagogue, under falsity and idolatry. The Lord grant you faith, as effectual as the grain of mustard seed; so that ye may grow, through the sincere moisture of good works, unto a great tree in the Lord, that the birds of the air may build their nests in your branches; that is, such as be weak, unstable, and wavering in the faith, may, seeing your constant faith and godly conversation, be won unto the faith. So must our light shine, that it may be seen of all men, for God hath not kindled the light of his gospel in us, that we should hide it under a bushel; but that we should set the same upon a candlestick, that it might give light to as many as list to behold it. Therefore Solomon compareth a good person's life, unto a bright light which groweth unto the perfectness of the day: still the scripture exhorteth us to grow in faith and to be perfect; that is, with St. Paul to go forward and to forget those things which we have, through knowledge, cast behind us, and never to take them again; for as Christ saith in the gospel, how none that hath put his hand to the plough, and looketh backward, is meet for the kingdom of God. The Lord grant that we may never look back again, for, if we do, our last fall will be worse than the first.

It is good for you in these evil days, to have continually before your eyes the philosophy of a christian man; which is, to acknowledge God as merciful, wise, just, and omnipotent; that he is merciful, he giveth us freely by faith the remission of our sins; by his wisdom, God trieth our faith through adversities, that apparent faith may be known, as well to ourselves as to the world, to his glory; that God is just, we

are assured, according to his promise, he will not suffer us to be tempted above that we shall be able to bear; and in that God is omnipotent, we may be certain that he will turn our evil which we suffer, to good, our shame to glory, our sorrow to joy, our death to life. These things, Madam, if, with fervent prayer and continual reading of the scriptures, you do well weigh, you shall fear neither faggot, neither fire, nor sword, nor halter; but, in the midst of them, rejoice that you are Christ's disciple, who doth exercise our faith by this same. God deliver you out of all temptations, that you never be overthrown of any.

Written by a captive in Christ in the King's Bench.

## The following admirable meditation on God's providence and presence, bears date also during this year.

### No. 46.*

This ought to be unto us most certain, that nothing is come without thy providence, O Lord; that is, that nothing is done, good or bad, sweet or sour, but by thy knowledge; that is, by thy will, wisdom, and ordinance: for all these, knowledge doth comprehend in it; as by thy word we are taught, in many places, that even the loss of a sparrow is not without thy will: nor any liberty or power upon a poor porket, have all the devils in hell, but by thine own appointment and will. And we must always believe it most assuredly, to be all just and good, howsoever it seem otherwise unto us; for thou art marvellous (and not comprehensible) in thy ways, and holy in all thy works. But hereunto it is necessary for us to know, no less certainly, that, although all things be done by thy providence, yet the same thy providence, to have many and divers means to work by: which being contemned, thy providence is contemned. As for an example: meat is a mean to serve thy providence, for the preservation of health and life here, so that he that contemneth to eat, because thy

* Strype Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. 2. 279.

providencce is certain and infallible, that same contemneth thy providence indeed. If it were so, that meat could not be had, then should we not tie thy providence unto this mean, but make free as thou art free; that is, that without meat thou must help to health and life. For it is not of any need, that thou usest any mean to serve thy providence. Thy wisdom and power is infinite, and therefore should we hang on thy providence, even when all is clean contrary against us. But for our erudition and infirmities' sake, it hath pleased thee to work by means, and deal with us here, to exercise us in obedience.

And because we cannot (so great is our corruption) sustain thy naked providence and presence, grant me therefore, dear Father, I humbly beseech thee for Christ's sake, that as I something now know these things, so I may use this knowledge to my comfort and commodity. That is, grant that in what state soever I be, I doubt not but the same to come to me by thy most just ordinance, yea, by thy merciful ordinance also. For as thou art just, so art thou merciful; yea, thy mercy is above all thy works. And by this knowledge, grant that I may humble myself to obey thee; and expect for myself, in time convenient, not only when I have means by which thou mayest work, and art so accustomed to do; but also when I have no means, but am destitute; yea, when all things and means are clean contrary against me; grant, I say, that I may still hang upon thee and thy providence, not doubting of a fatherly end in good time.

Again, lest I should contemn thy providence, or presuming on it, by uncoupling those things which thou hast coupled together; preserve me from neglecting thine ordinance and lawful means in all my need, (if so be I may have them, and with good conscience use them) although I know thy providence be not tied to them, further than it pleaseth thee; but grant that I may with diligence, reverence, and thankfulness use them; and thereto add my wisdom and industry, in all things lawful for me, to serve thereby thy providence, if so please thee. That I hang in no part on the means, or in my diligence, wisdom, or industry, but only on thy providence; which more and more persuade me, to be altogether fatherly and good, how far soever it appear or seem, yea, is felt of me. By this I being preserved from

negligence on my behalf, and despairing or murmuring towards thee, shall become diligent through thy mean, and alone grace; which give me and increase in me, to praise thy holy name for ever, through Christ our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

There is nothing that maketh more to the true godliness of life than this, the persuasion of thy presence, dear Father, and that nothing is hid from thee; but all to thee is open and naked, even the very thoughts, which one day thou wilt reveal and open, either to our praise or punishment in this life; as thou didst David's faults, which he did secretly, 2 *Kings* xii. or in the life to come, *Matt.* xxv. for nothing is so hid, that shall not be revealed; therefore doth the prophet say, *Woe to them that keep secret their thoughts, to hide their counsel from the Lord, and do their works in darkness, saying, Who seeth us?*

Grant to me, therefore, that I may find mercy and pardon for all my sins, especially my hid and close sins. Enter not into judgment with me, I humbly beseech thee; give me to believe truly in thy Christ, so that I may never come into judgment for them; that with David I might so reveal them, and confess them unto thee, that thou wouldest cover them. And grant further, that I always think myself continually conversant before thee; so that if I do well, I pass not of the publishing of it, as hypocrites do; if I do or think any evil, I may forthwith know, that the same shall not always be hid from men. Grant that always I may have in mind that day, wherein the hid works of darkness shall be illumined, and the sentence of thy Son, *Nothing is so secret, that shall not be revealed.* So in trouble and wrong I shall find comfort, and otherwise be kept through thy grace from doing evil. Which do thou work, I humbly beseech thee, for Christ's sake. *Amen. Soli Deo honor et gloria.* 1554.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 47.*

*A Letter which the Martyr, Bradford, set as a preface before a Supplication sent to Queen Mary, her Council, and the whole Parliament.*

In most humble wise complaineth unto your Majesty and Honours, a poor subject persecuted for the confession of Christ's verity; the which verity deserveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign, and have your honours and authorities.

Although we that be professors, and through the grace of God, the constant confessors of the same, are, as it were, the out-sweepings of the world; yet, I say, the verity itself is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour; according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the same purpose. Your Highness and Honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and sufficeth, only to accuse. It behoveth kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know, that in the administration of their kingdoms, they are God's ministers. It behoveth them to know, that they are no kings, but plain tyrants, who reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth God's glory, after true knowledge. And therefore it is required of them, that they should be wise, and suffer themselves to be taught; to submit themselves to the Lord's discipline, and to kiss their sovereign, lest they perish.

As all these potentates with their principalities and dominions, cannot long prosper but perish indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the sceptre of God, that is with his word; which whoso honoureth not, honoureth not God; and they that honour not

* Fox iii. 351. Cov. 476.

the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt; and at the length take his own cause, which he hath most chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his truth gloriously: the people also perishing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting, much more where it is suppressed, as it is now in this realm of England; over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it, your Highness, and all your honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer yourselves to be slaves and hangmen to antichrist* and his prelates; who have brought your Highness and Honours already, to let Barabbas loose, and to hang up Christ. As by the grace and help of God, I shall make apparent, if first it would please your excellent Majesty, and all your honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the pharisees, I mean the bishops and prelates, than your consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the sight of the world, to pass the less of it.

For it, the doctrine I mean, is higher and of more honour and majesty than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the everliving God, and of his Christ, whom the father hath ordained king, to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the world. And truly so doth he, and will he reign, that he will shake all the whole earth, with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silvery brightness, only by the rod of his mouth; to shivers, in such sort, as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the prophets do write, of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once to whist against them; that we pretend falsely the doctrine and word of God, calling us the most

* Nothing can be more evident, than that the man who could thus faithfully and intrepidly address those, who had the power of life and death in their hands; and as to the exercise of which it had already appeared, they were not likely to be very abstemious—had not taken counsel with flesh and blood, and was fully prepared to set his own life upon the cast.

wicked contemners of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, &c. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might make report to that, which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation; yet here will I occasion your Majesty and Honours, by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's sake, direct my pen to be his instrument to put into your eyes, ears, and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, to the safeguard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm. Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 48.*

*Unto the King and Queen's most excellent Majesties, and to their most honourable and High Court of Parliament.*

In most humble and lamentable wise complain unto your Majesties, and to your High Court of Parliament, your poor desolate and obedient subjects, H., F., T., B., P. R., S., &c.—That whereas your said subjects, living under the laws of God, and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble King Edward the Sixth, did in all things shew themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministering of God's most holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanour, as the laws of God at all times, and the statutes of the realm did then allow.

Your said subjects nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are in very extreme manner, not only cast into prison, where they have remained now these fifteen or sixteen months; but their livings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and books taken from them, and they slandered to be most heinous

* The supplication of the persecuted preachers to the King and Queen, sent with the preceding letter.—Fox iii. 118.

heretics, their enemies themselves being both witnesses, accusers, and judges; belying, slandering, and misreporting your said subjects at their pleasure, whereas your said subjects, being straitly kept in prison, cannot yet be suffered to come forth, and make answer accordingly.

In consideration whereof, may it please your most excellent Majesties, and this your High Court of Parliament, graciously to tender the present calamity of your said poor subjects, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent arbiters, to be appointed by your Majesties, unto such articles of controversy in religion, as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous heresies. Provided, that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as become subjects and children of peace; and that your said subjects may have the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves.

Which thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful christians, and neither heretics, nor teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal Church of Christ; yea, that rather their adversaries themselves be unto your Majesties, as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharoah, Zedekiah and his adherents unto the King of Israel, and Bar Jesu to the Proconsul, Sergius Paulus. And if your said subjects be not able by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service, taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward VI., is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment, that it shall please your Majesties to appoint.

Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ, which you look for at the day of judgment, your said poor subjects in bonds, most humbly beseech your excellent Majesties, and this your High Court of Parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his

church, to the honour of your Majesties, and to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity, both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God, for the gracious preservation of your most excellent Majesties, long to endure.

## No. 49.*

### *The Prisoners for the Gospel, their Declaration concerning King Edward, his Reformation.*

To the King and Queen's most excellent Majesties, with their most honourable High Court of Parliament.

We, poor prisoners for Christ's religion, require your honours, in our dear Saviour Christ's Name, earnestly now to repent; for that you have consented of late to the unplacing of so many godly laws, set forth touching the true religion of Christ before, by two most noble kings, being father and brother to the Queen's Highness, and agreed upon by all your consents; not without your great and many deliberations, free and open disputations, costs and pains-taking in that behalf; neither without great consultations and conclusions, had by the greatest learned men in the realm, at Windsor, Cambridge, and Oxford; neither without the most willing consent and allowing of the same, by the whole realm thoroughly. So that there was not one parish, in all England, that ever desired again to have the Romish superstitions and vain service, which is now by the popish, proud, covetous clergy placed again, in contempt not only of God, all heaven, and all the Holy Ghost's lessons in the blessed bible; but also against the honours of the said two most noble kings; against your own

* Strype, Cranmer, ii. 959. "By whom this memorable declaration was drawn up, unless by John Bradford, I know not. This now is the second time a public challenge was made to justify King Edward's reformation; the former in the last year by Cranmer, the latter now by divers of the learned men in prison. Strype, Cranmer, i. 506.

country, fore agreements, and against all the godly consciences within this realm of England, and elsewhere.

By reason whereof God's great plagues must need follow, and great unquietness of consciences; besides all other persecutions and vexations of bodies and goods, must needs ensue. Moreover, we certify your honours, that since your said unplacing of Christ's true religion, and true service, and placing in the room thereof antichrist's Romish superstition, heresy, and idolatry; all the true preachers have been removed and punished, and that with such open robbery and cruelty, as in Turkey was never used, either to their own countrymen, or to their mortal enemies.

This therefore our humble suit is now to your honourable estates, to desire the same, for all the mercies sake of our dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, and for the duty you owe to your native country, and to your own souls, earnestly to consider from what light to what darkness this realm is now brought; and that in the weightiest, chief and principal matter of salvation, of all our souls and bodies everlasting, and for evermore. And even so we desire you at this our appealing, to seek some effectual reformation for the above written, most horrible Deformation in this Church of England.

And touching yourselves, we desire you in like manner, that we may be called before your honours; and if we be not able to prove and approve, by the catholic and canonical rites of Christ's true religion, the church homilies, and service set forth in the most innocent King Edward's days; and also to disallow and reprove, by the same authorities, the service now set forth since his departing; *then we offer our bodies, either to be immediately burned,* or else to suffer whatsoever other painful and shameful death, that it shall please the King and Queen's Majesties to appoint. And we think this trial and probation may be now best, either in the plain English tongue by writing, or otherwise by disputation in the same tongue. Our Lord, for his great mercy's sake, grant unto you all the continual assistance of his good and holy spirit. Amen.

EXTERIOR VIEW of the CONFESSORS COTTAGE.
in ST SAVIOURS CHURCH SOUTHWARK.

On the 22d of January, 1555,* Bradford was brought from the King's Bench Prison, by the Under Marshal, before the Commissioners or Council,† assembled most probably at the Church of St. Mary Overies, in Southwark.‡

When Bradford was brought into the presence of the Council, who were sitting at a table, he kneeled down on his knee; but Gardiner, who was then Lord Chancellor, directed him to stand up; and earnestly looked upon him, to have, belike, overfaced him; but Bradford gave no place; that is, he ceased not, in like manner, to look on the Lord Chancellor still continually; save that once he cast up his eyes to heavenward, sighing for God's grace, and so overfaced him; at which Gardiner being as it were

* There must be some error in Fox's dates; for he states that Bradford was called in after the Commissioners had finished their talk with Bishop Ferrar; but from his account of that martyr, it would seem he had not been examined till the 4th of May following. Probably it should have been, after they had finished with Rogers, for he had been examined on the same day.

† We do not know why they were called Commissioners, as we have not been able to discover any Commission connected with the subject, except that given by Bp. Burnet, vol. ii. pt. 2. No. 32., and noticed by Collier, ii. 404.; in which Gardiner's name is not included.

‡ The same as St. Saviour's. See the process, *Post*, App.

amazed and something troubled; the examination proceeded as follows:—

## No. 50.*

## THE FIRST EXAMINATION OF BRADFORD.

*Gard.* You have for a long time been imprisoned justly, for your seditious behaviour at Paul's Cross, the thirteenth of August, 1553; for your false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon you to preach without authority. But now, the time of mercy is come, and therefore the Queen's Highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be ye will, *with us*, return: and if you will do *as we have done*, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you.

*Brad. (After reverent obeisance made)* My Lord, and Lords of all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and, with humble reverence be it spoken, unjustly; for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by speaking or otherwise; but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to save the present Bishop of Bath, then M. Bourne, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly.

*Gard. (With considerable impatience, and interrupting the Martyr)* That is a loud lie, for the fact was seditious, as you, my Lord of London, can bear witness.

*Bonner.* You say true, my Lord, I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition.

*Brad.* My Lords, notwithstanding my Lord Bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him. In the mean season, because I cannot be believed

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* Fox iii. 283.

of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me.

*Gard.* I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shews thou makest, but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgot how stubborn thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion. I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, wherethrough worthily thou hast been kept in prison, *as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of.*

*Brad.* My Lord, as I said, I say again, that I stand, as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him; the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my Lord, I dare say, that my Lord of Bath, Master Bourne, will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard, with the peril of mine own life,* I thank God therefore.

*Bonner.* That is not true; for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much.

*Brad.* No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Master Bourne himself, as if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm;† for he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your Honours, if I did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your Lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer.

*Gard.* Well, to leave this matter, how sayest thou? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the Queen's mercy and pardon?

*Brad.* My Lord, I desire mercy *with God's mercy*, but mercy *with God's wrath*, God keep me from; although, I thank God therefore, my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing, wherefore I had need to receive the Queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and to the laws of the realm, at that present, and did make much to quietness.

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* See the third examination, *Post.*

† To the credit of Bourne, it appears that he did interest himself to save Bradford's life. See the conference with Weston.—*Post.*

*Gard.* Well, if thou make this babbling, rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee; know for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a purgation* of all such as thou art.

*Brad.* The Lord before whom I stand, as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf; his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the Queen's favour, to live as a subject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands who will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon. Therefore, his good will be done; life in his displeasure is worse than death, and death in his true favour, is true life.

*Gard.* I know well enough that we shall have glorious talk of thee: be sure therefore that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrines, so shalt thou receive.

*Brad.* I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am, and hope shall be ready, to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it.

*Tonstal.* Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?

*Brad.* My Lord, here I must desire of your Lordship, and of all your honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no wise consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority, on the Bishop of Rome's behalf, within this Realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your Honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may, answer you any thing in his authority which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, the which God forbid.

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* 'That is the worst you and your Pope can do, and the best argument you have.' Fox iii. 283.

*Bourne.** Hast thou been sworn six times? What office hast thou borne?

*Brad.* Forsooth I was thrice sworn in Cambridge; when I was admitted Master of Arts, when I was admitted Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and when I was there, the visitors came thither, and sware the University. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I had a prebend given me, and when I was sworn to serve the King, a little before his death.

*Gard.* Tush, Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at.

*Brad.* But, my Lord, these were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book *De Vera Obedientia.*†

*Griffin.*‡ My Lords, I never knew wherefore this man was in prison, before now; but I see well, that it had not been good that this man had been abroad. What the cause was, that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know, that not without a cause, he was and is to be kept in prison.

*Bourne.* Yea, it was reported this parliament time, by the Earl of Derby,§ that *he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching.* In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine, for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught; and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth, to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. All which words divers of the Council having affirmed, Bourne added, How say you, Sir, have you not thus seditiously written, and exhorted the people.

*Brad.* I have not written nor spoken any thing seditiously; neither, I thank God therefore, have I admitted any seditious cogitation, nor, I trust, ever shall do.

*Bourne.* Yea, but thou hast written letters.

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* Secretary to the Council, brother of the Bishop of Bath, whose life Bradford had saved.

† See Appendix, Note (R.) ‡ Bp. of Rochester.

§ The letter here referred to was that to his mother, No. 12.—Fox iii. 284. 309.

*Gard.* Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?

*Brad.* That I have written, I have written.

*Southwell.** Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the Queen's Council!

*Brad.* My Lords and Masters, the Lord God who is, and will be, judge to us all; that as I am certain I stand now before his majesty, so with reverence in his sight I stand before you, and unto you accordingly, in words and gesture, I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his good time will reveal it. In the mean season, I shall suffer with all due obedience, your sayings and doings too, I hope.

*Gard.* These be gay glorious words of reverence; but as in all other things, so herein also thou dost nothing but lie.

*Brad.* Well, I would God, the author of truth and abhorrer of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and show a terrible judgment on me here present; if I have purposed, or do purpose, to lie before you, whatever you shall ask me.

*Gard.* Why then dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters as here is objected against thee?

*Brad.* As I said, my Lord, that I have written, I have written. I stand now before you, who either can lay my letters to my charge or no; if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a liar.

*Gard.* We shall never have done with thee, I perceive; now, be short, be short; wilt thou have mercy?

*Brad.* I pray God give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it, but otherwise I will none.

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, of his arrogancy, in refusing the Queen's pardon, which she so lovingly did offer unto him; whereto,

*Brad.* My Lords, if I may live as a quiet subject, without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law; in the mean season,

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* Sir Richard Southwell, one of the Queen's Privy Council.

I ask no more, but the benefit of a subject, till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done.

After a long process of the false doctrine, wherewith the people were deceived in the days of King Edward—

*Gard.* How sayest thou?

*Brad.* My Lord, the doctrine taught in King Edward's days was God's pure religion, the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did; and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison.

*Tonstal.* What religion mean you in King Edward's days? What year of his reign?

*Brad.* Forsooth, even the same year, my Lord, that the King died, and I was a preacher.*

Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wote not what; and after a little pausing, Gardiner began again to declare, that the doctrine, taught in King Edward's days, was heresy; using probation and demonstration thereof, not scripture, nor reason, but this; that it ended with treason and rebellion; that the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

*Brad.* Ah, my Lord, that you could enter into God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine, that you now so magnify!

*Gard.* What meanest thou by that? I ween we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now.

*Brad.* My Lord, I mean no such end as you would gather; I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God's sanctuary.† If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself.

Here now did Gardiner again offer mercy, and Bradford answered, as before; Mercy with God's mercy shall be welcome, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon Gardiner did ring a little bell; upon which the Under Marshal came in.

*Gard.* Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and suffer him not

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* Here.

† Rev. xix. 20.

to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before.

And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do; declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.*

## No. 51.†

## THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF BRADFORD,

*In St. Mary Overie's Church, before Gardiner and divers other Bishops, the 29th of January,* 1555.

*Gard.* Wherebefore, on the 22d of January, you was called before us, and we offered unto you the Queen's pardon; although you had contemned the same, and further said, that you would stiffly and frontly maintain the erroneous doctrine taught in the days of King Edward VI.; yet, in consideration that the Queen's Highness is wonderfully merciful, we think good eftsoons to offer the same mercy again, before it be too late. Therefore advise you well; there is yet space and grace, before we so proceed, that you be committed to the secular power; as we must do, and will do, if you will not follow the example of M. Barlow, and M. Cardmaker.

Whom he here commended, adding oratorically‡ amplifications, in order to move Bradford to yield to the religion lately§ set forth.

*Brad.* My Lord, and my Lords all, as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who, as David doth witness, is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging; and as you would your place to be now of us taken as God's place,

* See Appendix, Note (S.)
† Fox iii. 284.
‡ Oratoriously.
§ Presently.

so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting; that is, seek no guiltless blood,* nor hunt not by questions, to bring into the snare them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless; then proceed and give sentence accordingly; if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have.

*Gard.* You began with a true sentence, *Deus stetit in synagoga, etc.;* but this and all thy gesture declareth but hypocrisy and vain-glory.

He then made much ado to purge himself, that he sought not guiltless blood, and so began a long process, how that Bradford's fact at Paul's Cross was presumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people; which could not but turn to much disquietness, in that he was so prefract and stout in religion at that present.

For the which as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written letters to no little hurt, to the Queen's people; as by report of the Earl of Derby in the Parliament House, was credibly declared. And you stubbornly behaved yourself the last time you was before us; and therefore not for any other thing, now I demand of thee, but of or for thy doctrine or religion.

*Brad.* My Lord, where you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth, and hearty meanings. In the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of mine own conscience; which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also, and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at Paul's Cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower; I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did thing which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept of long time in prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer as I did the last time I was before you.

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* Si illum objurges vitæ qui auxilium tulit; quid facies illi qui dederit damnum aut malum?—*Fox.*

*Gard.* There didst thou say, stubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldest manfully maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's day.

*Brad.* My Lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, on the Bishop of Rome's behalf; and therefore durst I not answer to any thing that should be demanded so, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving mine oath, I said that I was more confirmed in the doctrine, set forth publicly in the days of King Edward, than ever I was before I was put in prison; and so I thought I should be, and think yet still I shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same

*Gard.* I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the Bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done; for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy.

*Brad.* My conscience is known to the Lord; and whether I deal herein hypocritically, or no, he knoweth. As I said therefore then, my Lord, so say I again now, that for fear lest I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction, for the Bishop of Rome, here in England.

*Gard.* Why didst thou begin to tell that we are Dii, and sit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer?

*Brad.* My Lord, I said, *you would have* your place taken of us now as God's place; and therefore I brought forth that piece of scripture, that ye might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conscience I pretend this matter of the oath, or no,

*Gard.* No, all men may well see thine hypocrisy; for if, for thine oath's sake, thou didst not answer, then wouldest thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first. But now men well perceive, that this is but a starting hole to hide thyself in; because thou darest not answer, and so wouldest escape, blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience you did all you do.

*Brad.* That which I spake at the first, was not a replication, or an answer to that you spake to me; and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak, than you did. But when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction, on the Bishop of Rome's behalf here in England, and so be forsworn; then of conscience and simplicity, I spake as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for conscience answer you. And therefore I seek no starting holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you, of your honours, shall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing, whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will tell you as flatly, as any ever did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God; for I look and have looked for nothing else at your hands, of long time; but I am afraid, when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do.

*Gard.* These be gay glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory; and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as Bishop of Winchester in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too.

*Brad.* My Lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter: Tell me here, before God, all this audience being witness, that you demand of me nothing, whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practice of jurisdiction, for the Bishop of Rome here in England; and your Honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand me, as ever any did.

Here Gardiner was wonderfully offended, and spake much how that the Bishop of Rome's authority needed no confirmation of Bradford's answers, no, nor such as he was; and turned his talk to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, who because they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would say that they had sworn oft, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so oft deceived them.

*Gard.* Even so thou doest at this present, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, to blear them with an heresy, which is greater and more hurtful to the commonwealth than the other is, pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conscience, whereas they should not. Why speakest thou not?

*Brad.* My Lord, as I said, I say again; I dare not answer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me; or else I could tell you, that there is a difference between oaths. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath against the Bishop of Rome; some be against faith and charity, as this, to deny by oath my help to my brother in his need.

Here Gardiner again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further made much ado, to prove that the oath against the Bishop of Rome was against charity.

*Brad.* Howsoever your Honour takes me, yet I am assured of my meaning, that no fear, but the fear of perjury, makes me unwilling to answer. For as for my death, my Lord, as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then shall I depart hence; but in the mean season, I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands I have committed it, and do, his good will be done. And, saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the Bishop of Rome was not, nor is not, against charity.

*Gard.* How prove you that?

*Brad.* Forsooth, I prove it thus.

Nothing is against charity, which is with God's word, and not against it.

The oath against the Bishop of Rome's authority in England, is with God's word, and is not against it.

Ergo, the oath against the Bishop of Rome's authority in England, is not against charity.

*Gard.* Is it against God's word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in his realm?

*Brad.* No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense, as it may be well taken; that is, attributing to the King's power, the sovereignty in all his dominions.

*Gard.* I pray you where find you that?

*Brad.* I find it in many places, but especially in the thirteenth to the Romans, where St. Paul writeth, Every soul to be subject to the superior power; but what power? Quæ gladium gestat, the power verily which beareth the sword; which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power. As Chrysostom full well noteth upon the same place, which your Honour knoweth better than I. He, Chrysostom I mean, there plainly sheweth that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates.

Here yet more Gardiner was stirred, and said, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the Queen, for his oath; and so, quoth he, this man would make God's word a warrant of disobedience; for he will answer the Queen on this sort, that when she saith, now swear to the Bishop of Rome, or obey his authority; no, will he say, for I should be forsworn, and so he makes the Queen no Queen.

*Brad.* No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the Queen's Highness, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demand it. For I was sworn to King Edward, not simply, that is, not only concerning his own person, but also concerning his successors; and therefore, in denying to do the Queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient.

*Gard.* Yes that thou doest;

And so he began to tell a long tale, how if a man should make an oath to pay to me £100. by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor would say, No, you cannot do it; for I am forsworn then.

*Brad.* Do not trifle, my Lord, I wonder your Honour will make solemn oaths made to God, trifles in that sort; and make so great a matter concerning vows, as they call it, made to the Bishop for marriage of priests.

*Gard.* *(Much offended)* I did not trifle; but thou goest about to deny obedience to the Queen, who now requireth obedience to the Bishop of Rome.

*Brad.* No, my Lord, I do not deny obedience to the Queen, if you would discern between genus and species. Because I may not obey in this, ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason.

As if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet this notwithstanding, all his inheritance is not let or sold; and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch.

*Gard.* I will none of these similitudes.

*Brad.* I would not use them, if that you went not about to persuade the people, that I meant that which I never meant; for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give example of all most humble obedience to the Queen's Highness, so long as she requireth not obedience against God.

*Gard.* No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the King, that doth therefore break his oath, if he be afterwards sworn to the French King and to the Emperor.

*Brad.* It is true, my Lord, but the cases be not like. For here is an exception; thou shalt not swear to the Bishop of Rome, at any time. If we in like manner were sworn; thou shalt not serve the Emperor, &c., you see there were some alteration, and more doubt. And I beseech your Honour remember, what ye yourself have written, answering the objections here-against in your book, *De Vera Obedientia;* Vincat modo divini verbi veritas; let God's word and the reason thereof bear the bell away.

Here Gardiner was thoroughly moved, and said still, how that Bradford had written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did stoutly stand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's time, against all men; and now, he saith, he dare not answer.

*Brad.* I have written no seditious letters. I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny by God's grace. And where your Lordship saith, that I dare not answer you; that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what come will; only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace, Amen. Now ask me what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid by God's grace, flatly to answer.

*Gard.* Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do

you not believe there Christ to be present, concerning his natural body?

*Brad.* My Lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present, at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word, corporally, I mean that Christ is there present corporally unto faith.

*Gard.* Unto faith? We must have many more words to make it plain.

*Brad.* You shall so; but first give me leave to speak two words.

*Gard.* Speak on.

*Brad.* I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and of all this time you never questioned with me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now you have a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite, and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my Lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith. No more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the Pope; I read that the apostles stood to be judged; but I read not that they sat to judge. This shall be, that was, &c.*

*Gard.* Somewhat appalled, said gently that HE used not this means. It is not my doing, although some there be that think this to be the best way. For I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes.

Which thing the Bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had been ever too mild and too gentle.

*Brad.* My Lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it.

*Gard.* With all my heart, not only I, but the Queen's Highness, will stretch out mercy, if with us you will return.

*Brad.* Return, my Lord? God save me from that going back; I mean it not so, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me paper, pen, and ink; and never in all

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* See Appendix, Note (T.)

that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God, that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have, God's good will be done.

Gardiner, being informed that dinner was ready, rose up and left Bradford speaking; who was conveyed into the Vestry; and whilst there, M. Thomas Hussey, a gentleman of Lincolnshire, who had been an officer in the Duke of Norfolk's household, came in, and recognized Bradford; and told him that he would commune and speak with him the next morning for old acquaintance. Bradford was kept in the Vestry till night, and then conveyed again to prison.*

The next moning, about seven o'clock, M. Hussey came into Bradford's chamber, and began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him to speak that which he would further utter. You did, said he, so wonderfully behave yourself before the Lord Chancellor, and other Bishops yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you; and therefore advise you, speaking as though it came of his own good

* See Appendix, Note (U.)

will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him, as he said, this day, for anon you shall be called before them again, to desire a time and men to confer withal; so shall all men think a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you; and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you be aware of.

To this truly deceptive advice, Bradford firmly replied, I neither can nor will make such request,; for then shall I give occasion to the people and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess; the which thing I do not; for thereof I am most assured, and therefore I will give no such offence.

As they were thus talking, the chamber door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton* came in, who, when he saw Hussey, said, What, Sir, *are you come before me?*

O Lord, said Bradford in his heart to God, goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming; Lord, give me grace to remember thy lesson, Beware of those men, &c.—Cast not your pearls before

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* Chaplain to Gardiner.

dogs: for I see that these men are come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness with the other.

After some by-talk respecting Bradford's age, country, and such like; Seton began a gay and long discourse concerning my Lord of Canterbury, (Cranmer), M. Latimer, and M. Ridley, and how they at Oxford had not been able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore Cranmer had desired to confer with the Bishop of Durham and others; all which tended to this end, that Bradford should make the like suit, being in nothing to be compared to my Lord of Canterbury.

To this Bradford briefly answered, as he had done before to M. Hussey; with which neither Hussey nor Seton being satisfied, the latter after many persuasions proceeded.—

*Seton.* I have heard much good talk of you, and even yesternight a gentleman made report of you at the Lord Chancellor's table, that ye were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And I, though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge never saw you before yesterday, yet, methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I should be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my Lord Chancellor hath a fancy towards you; wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite, and some learned man to confer withal, &c.

*Brad.* I cannot nor I will not so offend the people. I doubt not, but I am most certain of the doctrine I have taught.

Here Seton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and spake like a prelate; to which

*Brad.* Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself.

But still Seton urged him, shewing him how merciful Gardiner was, and how charitably they entertained him.

*Brad.* I never saw any justice, much less love, I speak for my part, in my Lord Chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably; and now my Lord hath no such matter against me.

This talk served not the Doctor's purpose, wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing and answered not; for he perceived that they had both come only to fish for something, which might make a show that my Lord Chancellor had justly kept him in prison. When all this talk took no such effect as they had looked for;

*Hussey.* Will ye not admit conference, if my Lord Chancellor should offer it publicly?

*Brad.* Conference, if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as safe as he with whom I should confer, then it were something; but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my Lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with whomsoever he shall appoint.

Upon hearing this, Seton called Bradford arrogant, proud, and made use of other reproachful expressions; when Bradford perceiving that he should be shortly called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God; and to beg wisdom and grace of him; alleging that otherwise he was helpless; upon which, after much ado, they departed.

Then Bradford went to God, and made his prayers, which the Lord, of his goodness, graciously accepted in his need; praised therefore be his holy name.

## No. 52.*

# THE THIRD AND LAST EXAMINATION OF BRADFORD,

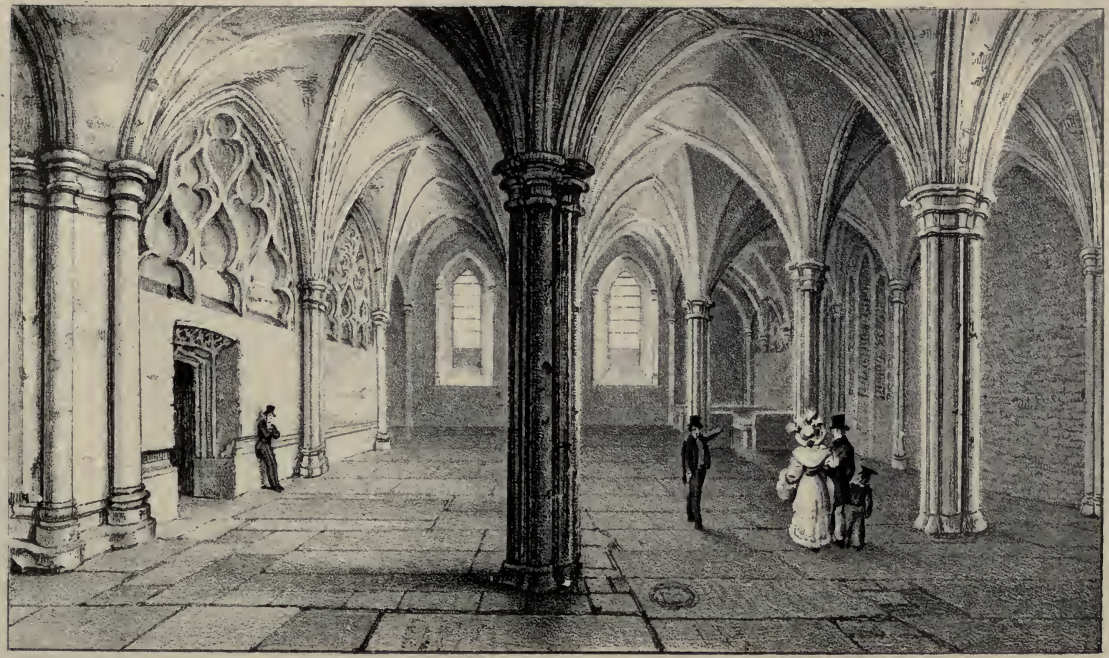
*In the Church of St. Mary Overies, on the 30th of January, 1553.*

Soon after Seton and Hussey had left Bradford, he was conducted to St. Mary's, and kept waiting till eleven o'clock; when he was brought before Gardiner and the other bishops; upon which the former said, that if Bradford would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loath to use extremity; concluding with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

*Brad.* As yesterday I besought your Honours, to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God, to follow him, who seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein; but that ye might be more admonished, to do that which none doth so much as he should do. For our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pretended mine oath, and oaths, against the Bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf, in the Realm of England; so do I again this day, lest I should be perjured. And last of all, as yesterday the answers I made were by protestation, and, saving mine oath, so I would your Honours should know that my answers shall be this day; and this I do, that when death, which I look for at your hands, shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury.

* Fox iii. 288.

CALIFORNIA



INTERIOR VIEW of the CONSISTORY COURT,
in ST SAVIOURS CHURCH SOUTHWARK

*Gard. (In wrath)* We had given you respite to deliberate till this day, whether you would recant your errors of the blessed sacrament, which yesterday before us you uttered.

*Brad.* My Lord, you gave me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner.

*Gard.* What? I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did not I yesterday tell thee thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did not I make it plain that the oath against the Bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?

*Brad.* No, indeed, My Lord; you said so, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do.

*Gard.* O Lord God, what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldest go about to bring into the people's heads, that we, all the Lords of the Parliament House, the Knights and Burgesses, and all the whole realm be perjured. O what an heretic is this! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is.* If I should make an oath, I would never help my brother, *nor lend him money in his need*,† were this a good answer to tell my neighbour, desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary; or that I could not do it?

*Brad.* O my Lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the Bishop of Rome.

Here Gardiner made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good, and which were evil, he often captiously asking of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths, which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction. Whereat Gardiner was much offended; but Bradford still kept

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* How closely tyrants and persecutors in all ages imitate each other.—"There he saw the judge sitting on the trial of the christians, and trangressing the bounds of decency, and of moderation."—*Lord Hailes*, iii. 26. So Jeffries, in the trial of Baxter.

† We have heard of persons, *calling themselves pious*, making such oaths or resolutions as these—let them hear the enormity of their crime, even from such a very wretch as Gardiner was!—*Deut.* xv. 9. *Matt.* v. 42.

him at bay, that the oath against the Bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto Gardiner's own book, *De Vera Obedientia*, for confirmation.

At length they came to this issue, who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath; and Bradford said the Word of God, according to Christ's Word, *John* xii., My word shall judge, and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, That God's word coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. By this word Bradford offered to prove the oath against the Bishop of Rome's authority to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath. So that Gardiner left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a denial of the Queen's authority, and obedience to her Highness, so did he now.

But Bradford, as the day before, proved that obedience in this point, to the Queen's Highness, if she should demand an oath to the Bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority and of obedience to her; no more than the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of a man's inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease, of the whole inheritance.

And thus much ado was made about this matter; Gardiner talking much and using many examples of debt, of going out of the town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such like. Which trifling talk Bradford did touch, saying, that it was a wonder his Honour weighed conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in vows of priests's marriages made to bishops, and be careless for solemn oaths made to God, and to princes. Summa, this was the end; Gardiner said the Queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole realm; but Bradford said, that the Queen's Highness could do no more but remit her right; as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch, as it was made unto God. At which Gardiner chafed wonderfully.

*Gard.* In plain sense, you slander the realm of perjury; and therefore, addressing the people, you see how this fellow taketh upon him, to have more knowledge and conscience, than all the wise men of England, and yet he hath no conscience at all.

*Brad.* Well, my Lord, let all the standers by see who hath

conscience. I have been a year and a half in prison; now before all these people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my Lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you, I mean my Lord of Bath,* who desired me himself for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people. Upon these words, I coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger, which was hurled at him, I think, for it touched my sleeves. He then prayed me, I would not leave him, and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day; and so went out of the pulpit, and intreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into an house. Besides this, in the afternoon, I preached in Bow Church, and there going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and *called it sedition at the least twenty times.* For all which my doing, I have received this recompense, prison for a year and a half and more, and death, now which you go about. *Let all men be judges where conscience is.*

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it; but Bradford still spake on, and gave no place, till he had made an end, speak what they would; O then, Gardiner said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the Cross was naught.

*Brad.* No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me; for when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good, but that my mind was evil. Well, quoth I then, my Lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn my mind, for so much as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man, but by saying and doing, God one day I trust will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is.

*Gard.* I never said so. I had not so little wit, I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing.

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* This was Bourne, whose life he had saved, and who was now sitting as one of his judges; but although he did not openly interfere in Bradford's favour, he appears to have made some exertions to save him.—See p. 159, and *Post.*

He then brought forth, little to the purpose, many examples to prove that men construe things, by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said that Bradford was put in prison *at the first, because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the Queen's religion.**

*Brad.* Why, my Lord, your Honour knoweth that you would not then reason with me in religion, but said a time should afterwards be found out,† when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your Lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion, in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could conscience punish me, or cast me in prison therefore? Wherefore, let all men be judges, in whom conscience wanteth.

*Chamberlaine.*‡ This Bradford has been a serving man, and was with M. Harrington.

*Gard.* True, and did deceive his master of seven score pounds; and because of this, he went to be a gospeller, and a preacher, good people, and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience.

*Brad.* My Lord, I set my foot by this, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are Chief Justice, by office, in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it.

*Gard.* We heard it, but we have another manner of matter than this against you; for you are an heretic.

*Bonner.* Yea, he did write letters to M. Pendleton, who knoweth his hand as well as his own; your Honour did see the letters.

*Brad.* That is not true: I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of.

*Bonner.* Yea, but you indited it.

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* Here we have the fact acknowledged, that these persecutions were on account of religion; and not, as the popish writers would insinuate, for rebellion and sedition.

† See the subtlety and iniquity of these fiends: they would not discuss the question of religion upon its own merits, but waited till they had made a law to entrap their victims; and by which they must either involve themselves in the consequences, confess to error against conscience, or consent to appear, as if incapable of justifying their own opinions.

‡ Of Woodstock.

*Brad.* I did not, nor know what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Here Allen, one of the Clerks of the Council, put Gardiner in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

*Gard.* You say true, for we have his hand to shew.

*Brad.* I deny that you have my hand to shew of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

*Gard.* Sir, in my house the other day you did most contemptuously contemn the Queen's mercy, and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days, against all men, and this you did most stoutly.

*Brad.* Well, I am glad that all men see now, you have had no matter to imprison me afore that day, justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously contemn the Queen's mercy, but would have had it, though if justice might take place, I need it not, so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion, set forth in King Edward's days, than ever I was; and if God so would, I trust I should declare it, by giving my life, for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaining to a private person by confession, I thought not, nor think not.

*Gard.* Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy, concerning the blessed sacrament, and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate.

*Brad.* My Lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed, and therefore refused it not, nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

*Gard.* Why? Didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?

*Brad.* No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as the bread and wine, to the due receiver.

*Gard.* Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the form of bread and wine?

*Brad.* My Lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver; as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you I believe it not.

Here was Bradford called diabolus, a slanderer.

*Gard.* We ask no question of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence.

*Brad.* I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver, but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiate.

*Heath.** If he be not included, how is he then present?

*Brad.* Forsooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it; nor you otherwise than by faith hear it, or understand it.

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking this, and others speaking that, and the Lord Chancellor talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, and Œcolampadius; but still Bradford kept him at this point, that Christ is present to faith; and that there is no transubstantiation, nor including of Christ in the bread; but all this would not serve them.

Therefore another bishop asked this question, Whether the wicked man received Christ's very body or not? And Bradford answered plainly, No.

*Gard.* It cannot be that Christ is present, except that the evil man receives it.

*Brad.* Grace is at this present offered to your Lordship, although you receive it not; so that the receiving maketh not the presence, as your Lordship would infer; but God's grace, truth, and power is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive. I pray you, my Lord, not to divorce that which God hath coupled together. He hath coupled all these together. Take *eat*, this is my body. He saith not, *see, keep*, this is my body; but *take eat*. So that it approveth this as a promise, depending upon condition, *if we take and eat*.

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* Bp. of Worcester.

Here Gardiner and other Bishops said that Bradford had found out a toy, that no man else ever did, of the condition; and Gardiner made many words to the people thereabout.

*Brad.* My Lord, are not these words, *take and eat*, a commandment? And are not these words, *this is my body*, a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and doubt the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?

Here Gardiner denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

*Brad.* Why, my Lord, I pray you tell the people what mood, *accipite*, *manducate*, is; is it not plain to children, that Christ in so saying commandeth?

At these words Gardiner made a great toying and trifling at the imperative mood, and fell to parsing or examining, as he would teach a child; and so concluded that it was no commandment, but such a phrase as this; I pray you give me drink, which, quoth he, is no commandment, I trow.

*Brad.* I entreat you, my Lord, to leave toying and trifling; if it be not a commandment of Christ, to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them, to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free; as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament?

*Gard.* You are a caviller. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread, (yea, quoth Bradford) and drink of the cup; this is no commandment, for if it were, then should it bind all men, in all places, and at all times.

*Brad.* O, my Lord, discern between commandments; some be so general, as the ten commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons; some be not so general, as this is of the Supper, the sacrament of baptism; of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem; of Abraham offering of Isaac, &c.

*Gard.* The cup is not commanded of Christ, for then we should have eleven commandments.

*Brad.* Indeed I believe you think as you speak, for else would you not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, *Drink ye all of it*. But how say you, my Lords? Christ saith to you *Bishops*

*especially*, Go and preach the Gospel; feed Christ's flock, &c. Is this a commandment or no?*

*Tonstal.* When does Christ begin to be present in the sacrament? Before the receiver receives it or no?

*Brad.* The question is curious, and not necessary. As the cup is the New Testament, so the bread is Christ's body to him that received it duly, but yet so that the bread is bread. For in all the Scripture ye shall not find this proposition, *there is no bread.* And so saith Chrysostom, Si in corpore essemus.—*Hom.* 83. *in Matt.*

Much ado was hereabouts, they calling Bradford heretic, and he desiring them to proceed on in God's name, he looked for that which God had appointed for them to do.

*Gard.* This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity, as though all things were so tied together, that of mere necessity, all must come to pass.

*Brad.* I pray your Lordship to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them into a contrary sense. You discern betwixt God and man. Things are never by fortune to God at any time, though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostles said; Lord see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and council, hath before ordained for them to do.

Here Gardiner read the excommunication;† and when he came to the word *laicus*:

*Gard.* Why, art thou no priest?

*Brad.* No, nor ever was, either priest, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher, afore public authority had established religion; or preacher, after public authority had altered religion; and yet I am thus handled at your hand; but God I doubt not will give *his* blessing, where *you* curse.‡

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* Here Gardiner was in a great chafe, and said as pleased him, Fox ad locum. None of their Lordships chose to notice this direct attack upon them; so Latimer, when he wishes to censure the popish Bishops most severely, designates them as "*the no-preaching prelates.*" And yet in our own day we have heard it used as a mark of reproach against one Bishop, though *but one*, "that he was *too fond of preaching.*"

† See Appendix, Note (V.)

‡ See Appendix, Note (W.)

And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God, that he counted him worthy* to suffer for his name's sake; and so praying God to give him repentance, and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the custody of the Sheriffs of London.

IMMEDIATELY after the last examination, Bradford was conveyed to the Clink;† where he remained two or three days, and was thence removed to the Compter in the Poultry;‡ it being originally intended by his murderers, as Fox§ justly calls them, to deliver him to the Earl of Derby, in order to be conveyed to Manchester,‖ where he was born, and where it was intended he should be burned. At this period we find the following letters.—

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* "Blessed therefore and honourable, are all martyrdoms, endured according to the will of God; for it becometh us, who profess to be devout above all others, to ascribe whatever befalleth to the will of God."—*Lord Hailes' Rem. C. A. vol.* i. 2.

† A comman jail in Long Southwark, at the west end, on the bank side of the Thames, near where the stews formerly stood.—Biog. Brit. ii. 551.

‡ In Grocers' Hall Court; very lately taken down; and a chapel erected upon its site, where the Rev. John Clayton, Jun. officiates. How would our holy martyr have rejoiced, could he have forseen that the genuine Gospel of his Saviour and Redeemer, and the same truths for which he was about to lay down his life at the stake; would be preached with such acceptance, power, and effect, on the very spot where his frail body was so cruelly incarcerated!

§ Acts and Mon. iii. 291. See Appendix, Note (X.)

‖ See Appendix, Note (Y.)

## No. 53.*

## To his DEARLY BELOVED SISTER, Mrs. A. W.

The everlasting peace of Christ be more and more lively felt in our hearts, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, Amen.

Although I know it to be more than needeth, to write any thing unto you, good Sister, being, as I doubt not you be, diligently exercised in reading of the Scriptures, meditating the same, and hearty prayer to God for the help of his Holy Spirit, to have the sense and feeling especially of the comforts you read in God's sweet book; yet having such opportunity, and knowing not whether hereafter I shall have the like, as this bringer can declare, I thought good in few words to take my farewell in writing, because otherwise I cannot.

And now methinks, I have done it; for what else can I, or should I, say unto you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, but farewell? Farewell, dear Sister, farewell; howbeit in the Lord, our Lord, I say, farewell; in him shall you fare well, and so much the better, by how much in yourself you fare evil, and shall fare evil.

When I speak of yourself, I mean also this world, this life, and all things properly pertaining to this life. In them as you look not for your welfare, so be not dismayed, when accordingly you shall feel it. To the Lord our God, to the Lamb our Christ, who hath borne our sins on his back, and is our mediator for ever, do I send you. In him look for welfare, and that without all wavering, because of his own goodness and truth, which our evilness and untruth cannot take away.

Not that therefore I would have you to flatter yourself in any evil or unbelief, but that I would comfort you, that they should not

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* Fox iii. 319. Cov. 457.

dismay you. Yours is our Christ wholly; yours, I say, he is, with all that ever he hath. Is not this welfare, trow you? Mountains shall move and the earth shall fall, before you find it otherwise; say the liar satan what he list. Therefore, good Sister, farewell, and be merry in the Lord; be merry, I say, for you have good cause.

If your welfare, joy, and salvation hanged upon any other thing, than only God's mercy and truth, then might you well be sad, heavy, and stand in a doubt. But in that it hangeth only upon these two, tell satan he lieth, when he would have you to stand in a mammering, by causing you to cast your eyes, which only in this case should be set on Christ, your sweet Saviour, on yourself in some part.

Indeed, look on yourself, on your faith, on your love, obedience, &c., to awake you up from security, to stir you to diligence, in doing the things appertaining to your vocation; but when you would be at peace with God, and have true consolation in your conscience, altogether look upon the goodness of God in Christ. Think on this commandment, which precedeth all others, that you must have no other Gods, but the LORD JEHOVAH, which is your Lord and God; the which he could not be, if that he did not pardon your sins in very deed. Remember that Christ commandeth you to call him Father, for the same intent.

And hereto call to mind all the benefits of God, hitherto showered upon you; and so shall you feel in very deed, that which I wish unto you now, and pray you to wish unto me, farewell or well fare in the LORD JESUS; which may he grant us shortly to meet, as his children, for his name and mercy's sake, to our eternal welfare. Amen.

Your own in the Lord,
JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 54.*

## TO HIS MOTHER,

*As a farewell, who thought he should have suffered shortly after.*

The Lord of Life and Saviour of the World, Jesus Christ, bless you and comfort you, my good and dear Mother, with his heavenly comfort, consolation, grace, and spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

If I thought that daily, yea almost hourly, you did not cry upon God the Father, through Jesus Christ, that he would give me his blessing, even the blessing of his children; then would I write more hereabouts. But forasmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and so I beseech you, good Mother, to continue; I think it good to write something, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if those things which hinder it be taken away. Among the which, in that I think my imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will thereabout spend this letter, and that briefly, lest it might increase the let, as my good brother, this bringer, can tell you.†

You shall know therefore, good Mother, that for my body, though it be in an house, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to God's will, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, books, and all other necessaries, for mine ease, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better case, than I could wish, and God's merciful providence here is far above my worthiness. Worthiness, quoth I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

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* Fox iii. 350. Cov. 451.

† He meaneth the danger of more strait imprisonment, that might hereby follow. Cov. 451.

But besides all this, for my soul I find much more commodity; for God is my father, I now perceive, through Christ; therefore in imprisoning me for his Gospel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jesus Christ here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my trust and hope is I shall be. Now maketh he me like to his friends, the prophets, apostles, the holy martyrs, and confessors. Which of them did not suffer, at the least, imprisonment or banishment for his Gospel and word?

Now, Mother, how far am I unmeet to be compared unto them? I, I say, who always have been, and am, so vile an hypocrite, and grievous a sinner; God might have caused me, long before this time, to have been cast into prison, as a thief, a blasphemer, an unclean liver, and an heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but, dear Mother, his mercy is so great upon both you and me, and all that love me, that I should be cast into prison as none of these, or for any such vices; but only for his Christ's sake, for his Gospel's sake, for his Church's sake; that hereby, as I might learn to lament, to bewail my ingratitude and sins; so I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Christ, for whose sake, praised be his name for it, I now suffer, and therefore should be merry and glad.

And indeed, good Mother, so I am as ever I was, yea, never so merry and glad was I, as I now should be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this sort.—Ah, good Father, who dost vouchsafe that my son, being a grievous sinner in thy sight, should find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Son's captains, and men of war to fight and suffer for his Gospel's sake. I thank thee and pray thee, in Christ's name, that thou wouldest forgive him his sins and unthankfulness, and make perfect in him that good, which thou hast began; yea, Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer not only imprisonment, but even very death, for the truth, religion, and Gospel's sake. As Hannah did apply, and give her first child, Samuel, unto thee; so do I, dear Father, beseeching thee, for Christ's sake, to accept this my gift, and give my son John Bradford grace, always truly to serve thee and thy people, as Samuel did, Amen, Amen.

If on this sort, Mother, from your heart, you would pray, as I

should be the merriest* man that ever was, so am I certain the lets of your prayer for my imprisonment, would be taken away. Mark therefore, good Mother, what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to say it daily, and then I shall be merry, and you shall rejoice; if that you continue as I trust you do, in God's true religion, even the same I have taught you; and my Father Traves, I trust, will put you in remembrance of; my brother Roger also, I trust, doth so daily. Go to therefore, and learn apace. Although the devil cast divers lets in the way, God, in whom you trust, will cast them away for his Christ's sake, if you will call upon him, and never will he suffer you to be tempted, above that he will make you able to bear. But how you should do herein, the other letter I have written herewith,† shall teach you, which I would none should read, till my Father Traves have read it, and he will give you, by God's grace, some instructions.

Now therefore will I make an end, praying you, good Mother, to look for no more letters; for if it were known that I have pen and ink and did write, then should I want all the foresaid commodities I have spoken of concerning my body, and be cast into some dungeon in fetters of iron, which thing I know would grieve you, and therefore, for God's sake, see that these be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied out by my brother Roger; for perchance your house may be searched for such gear, when you think little of it; and look for no more, sweet Mother, till either God shall deliver me and send me out, either you and I shall meet together in heaven, where we shall never part asunder, Amen.

I require you, Elizabeth and Margaret, my sisters, that you will fear God, use prayer, love your husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willeth you; bring up your children in God's fear; and be good housewives. God bless you both, with both my good brethren your husbands, whom to do good, because I now cannot, I will pray

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* See Appendix, Note (S.) How delightful it is to see the power of religion thus exemplified in the view of death, and how our minds are thus led to retrace the history of the early christians.

† This letter cometh not to our hands.—Cov. 453. Fox iii. 351.

for them and you. Commend me to my sister Anne, Mother Pike, T. Sorrocold and his wife, R. Shalcrosse and his wife, R. Bolton, J. Wilde, M. Vicar, the Parson of Mottrom, Sir Lawrence Hall, with all that love, and, I trust, live the Gospel; and God turn Sir Thomas's heart, Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to set my name, you know it well enough.

Because you should give my letters to Father Traves to be burned, I have written here a prayer for you to learn to pray for me, good Mother, and another for all your house, in your evening prayer, to pray with my brother. These prayers are written with mine own hand; keep them still, but the letters give to Father Traves to burn, and give Father Traves a copy of the latter prayer.

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WHILST Bradford was in the Compter, numerous attempts were made to induce him to change his opinions; and various instruments were set to work, and manœuvres practised, in order to accomplish that object.*

On the fourth of February, the same day upon which the martyr Rogers was burned, Bonner came to the Counter to degrade Dr. Taylor, another of the martyrs; and sending for Bradford, as soon as he saw him, he put off his cap and gave him his hand.

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* See Appendix, Note (Z.)

## No. 55.*

## CONFERENCE WITH BONNER.

*Bonner.* Because I perceive that ye are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought Master Archdeacon Harpsfield to you; and I tell you do like a wise man; but I pray you go roundly to work for the time is but short.

*Brad.* My Lord, as roundly as I can, I will go to work with *you;* I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do; howbeit if *ye will* have one to talk with me, I am ready.

*Bonner.* What, did you not tell me that this man desired conference?

*Keeper.* No, my Lord, I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any; but I did not say that it is his desire.

*Bonner.* Well, M. Bradford, you are well-beloved; I pray you, consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered.

*Brad.* Indeed, my Lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, who never broke your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity, but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will; but to say that I desire to confer, that do I not.

## No. 56.†

## TO THE LADY VANE.

Our dear and most meek Father, always be with us for his Christ's sake, and as his children, guide us for ever. Amen.

Your comfortable and necessary letters last sent me, right

* Fox iii. 291. † Cov. 467.

worshipful and dearly beloved, do deserve at my hands, as other your benefits have done, that which I cannot give. The Lord my God recompense you, as he can and undoubtedly will. Now am I going to my good Father and your Father; now am I going to my Christ and your Christ; now am I going to my home and your home. I go before, but you shall follow; howbeit when or which way, I know not; the Lord knoweth. Unto his providence and will, commend yourself; for as it cannot but come to pass, so is there nothing so good to us as it is. Happy were we that ever we were born, that God might set forth his glory by us, howsoever he do it.

Though I am led, as to Peter was said, whither I would not, yet with me and for me give thanks, that it pleaseth my Father thus to lead me. I have deserved, yea even since I came into this prison, many a shameful death; such and so great is my ingratitude and sins. But lo, the tender kindness of my Father, doth correct me as a child and son, making the remedy for my sins an occasion of his glory, a witness of his verity, a confirmation of his true religion, heretofore set forth and preached by me; wherein, good Madam, persist, and you shall be safe. Be not now ashamed of it, for though it seem to be overcome, YET BY SUFFERING IT OVERCOMETH; that God's wisdom, which is foolishness to the world; God's power, which is weakness to the reason of man; may triumph and confound that, which with the world, is wise and mighty.

Now do I begin to be Christ's disciple; now I begin to be fashioned like to my Master in suffering, that so I may be in reigning; now do I for ever take my farewell of you for this life; now commend I myself into the hands of my Father, by whose providence I came into this world, by whose providence I have been kept in this world, and by whose providence I do depart hence. And as his providence is towards me, so doubt you nothing less it is towards you; though not in such sort exteriorly, yet in such love, solicitude, and carefulness for you interiorly.

God, our God, and Father of Mercy, for the blood of his Christ, wash away all our sins, comfort his Church, strengthen the weak, convert or confound, as may make most to his glory, his enemies, and be with us EMANUEL for ever. Amen, Amen.

In haste, out of prison, the 5 of February, 1555.

JOHN BRADFORDE.

On a subsequent day in the same month, M. Willerton, chaplain to Bonner, came to confer with Bradford, but when he perceived that the martyr wished for his departure, said, Well, M. Bradford, I pray you let us confer a little, perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none. Bradford having acquiesced, Willerton argued from the doctors, and fathers, and of the bread in *John* vi. labouring to prove transubstantiation, and alleging that wicked men do receive Christ. But Bradford, on the contrary, improved his authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out his reasons from the Scriptures and the Doctors, and Bradford should peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise Bradford was to draw out his reasons, from the Scriptures and Doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could; and so they separated.

The next morning, Willerton sent half a sheet of paper written on both sides, containing no reasons how he gathered his doctrine; but only bare sentences, The bread which I will give is my flesh; and the places in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. x. xi., with some sentences

of the Doctors, all which made as much against him as for him.

In the afternoon he came himself, when they had a long conference to little effect: and at length Willerton alleged that Bradford swerved from the Church.

## No. 57.*

## CONFERENCE WITH M. WILLERTON.

*Brad.* No, that I do not, but ye do, for the Church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your Church, which robs the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English Tongue, is not.

*Willer.* Why? it is not profitable to have the service in English; for it is written, The lips of the priest should keep the law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge.

*Brad.* Should not the people then have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, *Search the Scriptures?*

*Willer.* This was not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men.

*Brad.* Then the people must not have the Scriptures?

*Willer.* No, for it is written, They shall be all taught of God.

*Brad.* And must we all learn of the priests?

*Willer.* Yea.

*Brad.* Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go, as the priests did then persuade the people.

* Fox iii. 291.

In the end Bradford gave his reasons, which he had gathered against transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of reasons, and that then he would answer them.

*Willer.* Well, I will do so; but first I will answer yours.*

## No. 58.†

## ANOTHER LETTER to MRS. ANNE WARCUP.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for his Christ's sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more see what glory and honour is reposed, and safely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore‡ I wrote unto you a Vale, or a farewell upon conjecture; but now I write my farewell to you in this life indeed, upon certain knowledge. My staff standeth at the door, I continually look for the Sheriff to come for me, and, I thank God, I am ready for him. Now go I to practice that which I have preached. Now am I climbing up the hill: it will cause me to puff and blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is steep and high; my breath is short, and my strength is feeble; pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now through his goodness, even almost come to the top, I may, by his grace, be strengthened, not to rest till I come where I should be.

Oh, loving Lord, put out thy hand and draw me unto thee; for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy; he knoweth my short breath and great weakness. As he sent for Elijah a fiery chariot, so sendeth he for me; for by fire my dross must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am; Lord, do thou forgive

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* Which however he never did.—Fox iii. 292.

† Fox iii. 344. Cov. 458. ‡ See No. 53.

me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confess, right dear to me in the Lord, that my sins have deserved hell fire; much more than this fire. But lo! so loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his truth, and a testification of his verity, which the prelates do persecute in me, and not my sins; therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, who I doubt not will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

Oh, that I had so open an heart, as could so receive as I should do, this great benefit and unspeakable dignity, which God my Father offereth to me. Now pray for me, my dearly beloved, pray for me, that I never shrink. I shall never shrink, I hope; I trust in the Lord, I shall never shrink; for he that always hath taken my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have most need, for his truth and mercy's sake. Oh, Lord, help me; into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what man can do unto me, Amen.

My dearly beloved, say you Amen, also, and come after if God so call you. Be not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, but keep company with him still. He will never leave you; but in the midst of temptation will give you an outscape, to make you able to bear the brunt. Use hearty prayer; reverently read and hear God's Word; put it in practice; look for the cross; lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh. Know that the death of God's saints is precious in his sight; be merry in the Lord; pray for the mitigation of God's heavy displeasure upon our country; God keep us for ever; God bless us with his spirtual blessings in Christ.

And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life; pray for me, pray for me, for God's sake, pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me, Amen. Out of prison this 7 of February.

Yours in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 59.*

## TO HIS DEAR FATHERS, DR. CRANMER, DR. RIDLEY, AND DR. LATIMER.

Jesus Immanuel. My dear Fathers in the Lord, I beseech God our sweet Father, through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all, Amen.

I had thought that every of your staves had stood next the door; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, and as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course and receive their crown.

The next am I, who hourly look for the porter, to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness, for this exceeding great mercy; that amongst so many thousands, it pleased his mercy to choose me, to be, one in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that juste patior, for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it, he hath done it, indeed, yet, Hic autem quid mali fecit? Christ whom the prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserveth death.

Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this dignation, and tender kindness of the Lord, towards me, which useth the remedy for my sin, as a testimonial† of his Testament, to his glory, to your everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his Church, and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom. O what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify me, so vile a man and miser as always I have been? Is this thy wont to send for such a wretch and hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elijah?

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* Fox iii. 321. Cov. 466.

† It is a singular mercy of God to have death, which is a due punishment for sin, turned into a demonstration and justification of the Lord's truth.—Cov. 466.

Oh, dear Fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I still may be found worthy, in whom the Lord would magnify his holy name.

And for your part, make you ready, for we are but your gentlemen ushers. Nuptiæ agni parati sunt, venite ad nuptias. I now go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall be conveyed thither,* as Ignatius was to Rome, Leopardis; by whose evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me, Amen.

For my farewell therefore, I write and send this unto you, trusting shortly to see you, where we shall never be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as I have done, to commend you to our Father in heaven. And that ye would do so by me, I most heartily pray every one of you; you know now I have most need. But fidelis Deus, qui nunquam sinet nos tentari, supra id quod possumus. He never did it hitherto, nor now, and I am assured, he will never, Amen.

A dextris est mihi, non movebor. Propter hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me, sanctum suum per gratiam in Christo, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans omni momento carnificem. The 8 of February, Anno 1555.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 60.†

## TO HIS DEAR FRIEND, AND BROTHER IN THE LORD, M. GEORGE EATON.

Almighty God, our dear Father, give to you daily more and more, the knowledge of his truth, and a love and life to the same for ever in all things, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, Amen.

* He meaneth that he should be conveyed by the Queen's guards into Lancashire to be burnt, as the adversaries had once determined; like as Ignatius was by a company of soldiers, conveyed to Rome, and cast to the leopards.—Cov. 467.

† Cov. 446.

I should begin with thanksgiving to God, and to you as his steward, for the great benefits I have oftentimes received from you, and especially in this time of my most need, far above my expectation; but because thankfulness lieth not in words or letters, and because you look not to hear of your well-doing of man, I am purposed to pass it over with silence, and to give myself presently to that which is more profitable unto you; that is, as God shall lend me his grace, briefly to labour, or at least, to shew my good will, to help you in God's gift to me, as you by your doing the like in God's gift unto you, have, as already done, so occasioned me greatly hereto.

I would gladly have done it heretofore, but I have been discouraged to write unto you, lest hurt thereby might come unto you; which is the only cause I have not hitherto written, nor now would not have done, but that I stand in a doubt, whether ever hereafter I shall have liberty to write unto you. And therefore, whilst I something may, I thought good to do thus much, to declare unto you, how that, as I think myself much bound to God for you, so I desire to gratify the same, as God should enable me.

The days are come, and more and more do approach, in the which trial will be of such, as have unfeignedly read and heard the Gospel; for all others will abide no trial, but as the world will. But of you because I have better hope, I cannot but, as pray to God, in him to confirm you; so to beseech you of the same. I know it will be a dangerous thing indeed to declare that which in word you have confessed, and in heart have believed, especially concerning the papistical mass; but, notwithstanding, we must not for dangers depart from the truth, except we will depart from God; for inasmuch as God is the truth, and the truth is God, he that departeth from the one, departeth from the other.

Now what a thing it is to depart from God, I need not to tell you, because you know it is no less than a departing from all that is good, and not only so, but also a coupling of yourself to all that is evil; for there is no mean, either we depart from God and stick to the devil, or depart from the devil and stick to God.

Some men there be, who for fear of danger and loss of that they must leave, when, where, and to whom, they know not; do deceive themselves after the just judgment of God, to believe the devil,

because they have no lust to believe God, in hearkening to satan's counsel of parting stake with God; as to be persuaded that it is not evil, or else no great evil, inwardly in heart to conceal the truth, and outwardly in fact to betray it.

And therefore, though they know the mass to be abomination, yet they make it but a straw, in going to it as the world doth; in which thing the Lord knoweth they deceive themselves to damnation, dream they as they lust. For surely the body departing from the verity, and so from God, will draw and drown, in damnation, the soul also. For we shall receive according to that we do in the body, good or bad; and therefore the matter is more to be considered, than men make of it; the more it is to be lamented.

But I trust, my right dearly beloved, you will consider this with yourself, and call your conscience to account, as God's word maketh the charge. Beware of false auditors, who making a false charge, can get no quietness of the conscience, after God's word. Therefore cast your charge, and there you shall see, that no belief of the heart justifieth, which hath not confession of the mouth to declare the same. No man can serve two masters; he that gathereth not with Christ, as no mass seer unreproving it doth, scattereth abroad. God's chosen are such as not only have good hearts, but also kiss not their hands, nor bow their knee to Baal. Christ's disciples are none but such as deny themselves, and take up their cross and follow him. He that is ashamed of Christ and his truth in this generation, must look that Christ will be ashamed of him in the day of judgment. He that denieth Christ before men, shall be denied before God. Now, two kinds of denial there be, yea three kinds; one in heart, another in word, and the third in deed. In the which kinds, all mass gospellers be so bitten, that all the surgeons in the world can lay no healing plaster thereto, till repentance appear and draw out the matter of using the evil, and resorting to the mass. For free should we be from all spots, not only of the flesh, but also of the spirit; and our duty is to depart, not only from evil, that is, from the mass, but also, from the appearance of evil, that is, from conniving at it.

Woe unto them that give offence to the children of God, that is, who occasion, by any means, any to tarry in the church at mass

time, much more then, they who occasion any to come thereto; most of all they who enforce any thereto. Assuredly a most heavy vengeance of God hangeth upon such. Such as decline to their crookedness, God will lead on with wicked workers; whose portion shall be snares, fire, brimstone and stormy tempests; whose palace and house shall be hell fire and darkness; whose cheer shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; whose song shall be woe, woe, woe, from the which the Lord of mercy deliver us.

My dearly beloved, I write not this, as one that thinketh not well of you, but as one that would you did well, and therefore to help you thereto, I write as I write; beseeching God to open your eyes, to see the dangers men be in, who dissemble with God and man, to the end you do not the like; and also to open your eyes to see the high service you do to God, in adventuring yourself and that you have, for his sake.

Oh, that we considered that it is happiness to suffer any thing for Christ's sake, who have deserved to suffer so much for our sins and iniquities. Oh, that our eyes were opened to see the great reward they shall have in heaven, who suffer the loss of any thing for God's sake. If we know the cross to be as a purgation most profitable to the soul, as a purifying fire to burn the dross away, of our dirtiness and sins; as an oven to bake us in, to be the Lord's bread; as soap to make us white, as a stream to mundify and cleanse us, as God's frame-house to make us like to Christ here in suffering, that we may be so in reigning; then should we not so much care for this little short sorrow, which the flesh suffereth in it; but rather in consideration of the exceeding endless joy and comfort which will ensue, we should run forwards in our race, after the example of our captain Christ, who comforts us all in our distress, and gives us the spirit of prayer, therein to watch and pray, that we be not led into temptation; which God grant to us for ever, Amen.

And thus much I thought good to write to you, at this present; to declare my carefulness for the well-doing of you, and all your family, whom I commend with you, into the hands and tuition of God our Father, so be it.

Your own in the Lord,
JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 61.*

## TO M. GEORGE EATON.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, recompense abundantly into your bosom, my dearly beloved, here and eternally, the good which from him by you I have continually received, since my coming into prison. Otherwise can I never be able to requite your loving kindness here, than by praying for you, and after this life, by witnessing your faith declared to me by your fruits; when we shall come and appear together, before the throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ; whither, I thank God, I am even now a going, ever looking when the officers will come and satisfy the precept of the prelates; whereof, though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved an hundred thousand deaths at God's hands, by reason of my sins; yet I may and must rejoice, because the prelates do not persecute in me mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus and his verity; so that they persecute not me, they hate not me, but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

And because they can do him no hurt, for he sitteth in heaven and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel; therefore they turn their rage upon his poor sheep, as Herod their father did upon the infants, Matt. ii. Great cause therefore have I to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Christ, will vouchsafe among many, to choose me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me, who have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my sins, that I might be most assured, I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Therefore, my right dear brother in the Lord, rejoice with me, give thanks for me, and cease not to pray, that God for his mercy's sake, would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confess unto you in writing, as to the whole world I shortly shall by God's grace in suffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jesus Christ, of

* Fox iii. 344. Cov. 449.

his Church, of his prophets, apostles, and all good men; so that if an angel should come from heaven, and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it, and as your vocation requireth, when God so will, confess it, though it be perilous so to do. The end shall evidently shew another manner of pleasure for so doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein; use reverent reading of God's Word. Set the shortness of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practise in doing, that you learn by reading and hearing; decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bonds, especially for the Lord's cause, as members of your body, and fellow heirs of grace. Forget not the affliction of Sion, and the oppression of Jerusalem; and God our Father shall give you his continual blessing, through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever, Amen.

And thus I take my Vale and farewell with you, dear brother, for ever in this present life, till we shall meet in eternal bliss; whither our good God and Father bring us shortly, Amen. God bless your babes for ever, Amen. Out of prison this eighth of February.

Your afflicted brother, for the Lord's cause,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 62.*

*To all that profess the Gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the City of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now not only in Prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine; wisheth mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge, from God*

* Fox iii. 309. Cov. 251.

*the Father of Mercy, through the merits of our alone and omnisufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of his Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.*

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ, although the time I have to live is very little, for hourly I look when I should be had hence, to be conveyed into Lancashire there to be burned, and to render my life by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence; and although the charge is great, to keep me from all things, whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my state; yet having as now I have, pen and ink, through God's working, mauger the head of satan, and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and thereto join a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profession.

First for my faith,* I do confess and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I do believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God, for faith is God's only gift, all the twelve articles of the symbol or creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly.

This Word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the Holy Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation; so that nothing, as necessary to salvation, ought to be added thereto, and therefore the Church of Christ, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine than which hereout hath her foundation and ground. In testimony of which faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome, to be Christ's vicar-general, and supreme head of his Catholic and Universal Church, here and elsewhere, upon

* This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound, to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but alas, by starts and stealth, I write in manner that that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part.—Cov.

earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporal, and carnal presence in his Supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

To believe Christ our Saviour to be the Head of his Church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the Supper of Christ, which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it and use it, doth utterly overthrow, is a true and a very presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander by and looker upon, as it is a true and a very presence of bread and wine, to the senses of men; to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore, as an heretic, I am condemned and shall be burned; whereof I ask God heartily mercy, that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause as to be an instrument, wherein it may please my dear Lord and Saviour to suffer.

For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more than my former sinful life, which the Lord pardon for his Christ's sake; as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay my iniquities to my charge to condemnation, so great is his goodness, praised therefore be his holy name. Although, I say, my manifold and grievous late sins have deserved most justly, all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me, and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his judgments be true and deserved on my behalf; yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea most great cause, to rejoice that ever I was born and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleaseth the heavenly Father to glorify his name, to testify his truth, to confirm his verity, to oppugn his adversaries. Oh, good God, and merciful Father, forgive me my great unthankfulness, especially herein.

And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily in his bowels and blood, do now, for my last Vale and farewell in this present life, beseech you and every of you, that you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly. First by

me to be admonished, to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security. Profess not the Gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity; frame and fashion your lives accordingly. Beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the Gospel less respected by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it, as I should have done, but have sought much myself therein.

The Gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine, and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without greater hurt than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections; if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy; if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross and follow Christ. We cannot serve two masters; if we seek Christ's kingdom, we must also seek for the righteousness thereof. To the petition of, Let thy kingdom come, we must join, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it, we sore deceive ourselves. If we hear the Gospel and love it not, we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth. If we come to him, we must beware we come not with a double heart, for then it may chance that God will answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we shall deceive ourselves and others. To faith see that we couple a good conscience, lest we make a shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we be Christ's, we must crucify our flesh, with the lusts and concupiscences thereof. If we will be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere; lest the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining; in no case can the kingdom of Christ approach to them who repent not.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent and be heartily sorry, that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vain-gloriously, professed the Gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God and mine own confusion here, that he may cover mine offences in the day of judgment. Let the anger

and plagues of God, most justly fallen upon us, be applied to every one of our deserts, that from the bottom of our hearts, every of us may say; It is *I*, Lord, that have sinned against thee, it is *mine* hypocrisy, *my* vain-glory, *my* covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deserved the taking away of our good king, of thy word and true religion, of thy good ministers, by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is wickedness, that causeth success and increase of authority and peace to thine enemies. Oh, be merciful, be merciful, unto us; turn to us again, oh, Lord of Hosts, and turn us unto thee. Correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed. In thy wrathful displeasure reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger, remember thy mercy; for if thou wilt mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide? But with thee is mercifulness, that thou might be worshipped; oh, then be merciful unto us, that we may truly worship thee. Help us, for the glory of thy name, be merciful unto our sins, for they are great; oh, heal us and help us for thine honour, let not the wicked people say, Where is their God, &c.

On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins, repent us of our former evil life, heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the Holy Scriptures, and labour after our vocation, to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness; let us fly from all idolatry; let us abhor the antichristian, and rotten Romish service, detest the popish mass, forsake their Romish God, prepare ourselves to the cross, be obedient to all that be in authority, in all things that be not against God and his word; for then answer with the apostles, It is more meet to obey God than man.

Howbeit, never for any thing resist, or rise against the magistrates; avenge not yourselves, but commit your care to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth, and he in his time will reward it. If ye feel in yourselves an hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you, and ye shall be able to bear all brunts. But if ye want this hope, fly and get you hence, rather than by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

In summa, cast your care upon the Lord, knowing for most certain that he is careful for you; with him are all the hairs of your head numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing shall happen to your bodies which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seemeth other to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means, yea, when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things, he most chiefly requireth at your hands, namely, believe that ye are his children, through Christ; that he is your Father and God through him; that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences; that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When ye fall, he will put under his hand, ye shall not lie still. Before ye call upon him, he heareth you; out of evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal kingdom. Doubt not, my dearly beloved, hereof, doubt not, I say; this will God your Father do for you in respect, not of yourselves, but in respect of Christ your captain, your pastor, your keeper, out of whose hands, none shall be able to catch you. In him be quiet, and often consider your dignity; namely, how that ye be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing, that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, &c. Marvel not, though the devil and the world hate you; though ye be persecuted here, for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches, fear not the power of man, love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus his coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body. When he appeareth, ye shall be like unto him; when your life thus shall be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory; in the mean season live in hope thereof.

Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God, for the just doth live by faith; which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God, as a lantern to her feet, and a light to her steps.

Her eyes be above where Christ is, she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in afflictions, she knoweth that the afflictions of this life, are not to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth. It will make us valiant men, to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us, in his good time, through Christ our Lord; to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body, to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine, I have taught here unto you, but that my country must have; therefore I pray you, take in good part, this signification of my good will, towards every of you. Impute the want herein, to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour, when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend; continue in the truth, which I have truly taught unto you, by preaching in all places where I have come, God's name therefore be praised; confess Christ when ye are called, whatsoever cometh thereof, and the God of peace be with us all, Amen.

Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 63.*

*To all that love the Lord Jesus, and his true doctrine, being in the University and Town of Cambridge,* JOHN BRADFORD, *a most unworthy Servant of the Lord; now not only imprisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine; wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all*

* Fox iii. 311. Cov. 257.

*godliness, from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our alonely Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit, for ever, Amen.*



Although I look hourly, when I should be had to the stake, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, and although the charge over me is great and strait; yet having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but something signify unto you, my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may.

Ye have often, and openly heard the truth, especially in this matter wherein I am condemned, disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more, but only to put you in remembrance of the same; but hitherto ye have not heard it confirmed, and, as it were, sealed up, as now ye do, and shall do here by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy, I have deserved eternal death and hell-fire; much more then this affliction and fire prepared for me; yet my dearly beloved it is not these, or any of these things, wherefore the prelates do persecute me, but God's verity and truth.

Yea, even Christ himself, is the only cause and thing, wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as an heretic, because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome, to be Christ's vicar general, and supreme head of his Church here, and every where upon earth, by God's ordinance; and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked, *yea, of dogs and mice.*

Also I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christ's Church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire. Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God, the eternal Father, hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child, in whom it would please him to mag-

nify his holy name, as he doth, and I hope for his mercy and truth's sake, will do in me and by me. Oh what such benefit upon earth can there be, as that I, who deserved death by reason of my sins, should be diverted to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's verity and truth.

Thou, my Mother, the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word, plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching, publicly and privately; but now, to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand, with the Romish rout, to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary; thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or else to confound thee and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, who now fill up the measure of their fathers, who slew the prophets and apostles; that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

Of this therefore I thought good, before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me, for the love and duty I bear unto thee; to admonish thee, good Mother, and my sister the town, that ye would call to mind from whence ye are fallen, and study to do the first works. Ye know, if you will, these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's Supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuate, his sacrifice frustrate, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith tainted, godliness extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished; you know, I say, if you will, that these opinions are not only besides God's word, but even directly against it; and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christ's collyrium and eye-salve, to anoint your eyes; that ye may see what ye may do and have done, in admitting, as I hear ye have admitted, yea alas authorized, and by consent confirmed, the Romish rotten rags, which once ye utterly expelled. Oh, be not canis reversus ad vomitum, be not sus lota, reversa ad volutabrum cœni. Beware lest old satan enter in, with

seven other spirits, and so the last shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than, after knowledge, to run from it. Ah, woe to this world, and the things therein, which hath now so wrought with you. Oh, that ever this dirt of the devil, should daub up the eye of the realm. If thou be light and give shine, all the body shall fare the better; but if, thou, the light, be darkness, alas, how great will the darkness be? What is man, whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou shouldest thus be afraid of him;

Oh, what is honour and life here, but plain bubbles? What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the Old Babylon, had the children of Judah in captivity; so hath this Rome, the true Judah, that is the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know, that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this? And trowest thou that God will not deliver his people now, when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people, to come out from her, and wilt thou give example to the whole realm to run into her? Hast thou forgotten the woe that Christ threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember, that it were better a millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the sea, than that thou shouldest offend the little ones? And alas, how hast thou offended; yea, how dost thou still offend? Wilt thou consider things according to the outward shew? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to the true Church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more costly array and rich apparel, externally to set forth hereof, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter, the Church of Christ, without or within? Doth not David say, within? Oh, remember, that as they are happy, who are not offended at Christ; so are they happy, who are not offended at his poor Church.

Can the Pope and his prelates mean honestly, who make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The Church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this Church were an honest woman, that is Christ's wife, except they would make much of her husband

Christ, and his word, she would not be made much of, of them. When Christ and his apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true Church; they, or the prelates, bishops, and synagogue? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part; should not Christ and his company have been cast out of doors? Therefore bade Christ, Search the Scriptures. And, good Mother, shall the servant be above his master? Shall we look for other entertainment, at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found?

Who was taken in Noah's time for the Church; poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God's Church in Sodom; Lot or others? And doth not Christ say; As it went then, so shall it go now, towards the coming of the Son of Man? What meaneth Christ, when he saith, Iniquity shall have the upper hand; doth he not tell that charity shall wax cold? And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of charity, in those, who would now be taken for Christ's Church? All that fear God in this realm truly, can tell more of this, than I can write.

Therefore, dear Mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent that which is past; and make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, and true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy children Leaver, and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkinton, Grindal, Haddon, Horne, Scory, Ponet, &c., something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, and Taylor. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me, going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharoah was, for then will it happen unto thee, as it did unto him; what is that? Hardness of heart; and what then? Destruction eternally both of body and soul.

Ah, therefore, good Mother, awake, awake, repent, repent, bustle thyself, and make haste to turn to the Lord; for else it shall

be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment, than for thee. Oh, harden not your hearts; oh, stop not your ears to-day, in hearing God's voice, though it be by me a most unworthy messenger. Oh, fear the Lord, for his anger is begun to kindle; even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree. Ye know I prophesied truly to you before the sweat came, what would come if ye repented not your carnal gospelling; and now I tell you, before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear of the vengeance of God, that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if ye repent not, if ye leave not your idolatry, if ye turn not speedily to the Lord, if ye still be ashamed of Christ's truth, which ye know.

Oh, Perne, repent; Oh, Thomson, repent; Oh, ye doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent; Oh, mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent; that ye may escape the near vengeance of the Lord. Rend your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, *peccavimus*, we have sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord. Deal not with us, after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh, pardon us our offences; in thine anger, remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of Hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake; spare us, and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say; Where is now their God? Oh, for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee; and we shall praise thy name for ever.

If in this sort my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth, we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely, we shall find mercy; then shall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ; then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people, for he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion; he cannot be chiding for ever, his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease; for he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner, he rather would our conversion and turning.

Oh, turn you now, and convert, yet once again I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor is the heart of man able

to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as ye were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world; the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, ye shall perish in your wickedness, your blood will be upon your own heads; your part shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever; eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you, world without end.

Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you; repent you, repent you; amend, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace and pursue it. Come out from Babylon, cast off the works of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his gospel, prepare yourselves to the cross, drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs; and then shall I with and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand, and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you.

And thus I take my Vale in æternum with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful, and sure meeting in his kingdom. Amen, Amen. Out of prison, the 11 of February, anno, 1555.*

Your own in the Lord for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 64.†

*To all those that profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in Lancashire and Cheshire, and especially abiding in Manchester and thereabouts;* JOHN BRADFORD, *a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now not only in Bonds, but also condemned in the same true religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace, and increase of godliness, from God the Father of all piety, through the*

* See Appendix, Note (AA.)

† Fox iii. 313. Cov. 263.

*deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.*

I HEAR it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true Gospel and doctrine amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed; that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there, for in Manchester was I born, for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you and amongst you; so that if from henceforth, you waver in the same, you have no excuse at all.

I know the enemies of Christ, who exercise this cruelty upon me, I speak it in respect of mine offence, which is none to them wards, think by killing of me *amongst you*, to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter; but I doubt not, but that my heavenly Father will, by my death, more confirm you in his truth for ever.

And therefore I greatly rejoice, to see satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed; that is, amongst such as have heard God's word, and do follow it; for they only are accounted wise of the wisdom of God our Saviour.

Indeed, if I should simply consider my life, with that which it ought to have been; and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do; Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true; for I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my professing the Gospel, but since also; yea even since my coming into prison. I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God, and all his Church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God; I have not lived his Gospel as I should have done, I have sought myself, and not simply and only his glory, and my brethren's commodity; I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vain-glorious, &c. All which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christ's sake, as I

hope, and certainly believe he hath done, for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament that I do no more rejoice than I do, for it is God's verity and truth; Bradford is nothing else but an instrument, in whom Christ and his doctrine are condemned, And therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, rejoice, and give thanks, with me and for me; that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy, I mean myself, to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction, much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me, amongst you for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his exceeding great mercy towards me, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

But perchance ye will say unto me, What is the cause for the which you are condemned? We hear say *you deny all presence of Christ in his holy Supper*, and so make it a bare sign and common bread, and nothing else. My dearly beloved, what *is* said of me, and *will be*, I cannot tell. It is told me that M. Pendleton is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted; for ye all know how he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach, afore I came amongst you, but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I much pass not; for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit; but of this enough.

Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as an heretic, is, because I deny the sacrament of the altar, which is not Christ's Supper, but a plain perverting of it; being used as the papists now use it, to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine; that is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist's religion; whereby the mass is maintained, Christ's Supper perverted, his sacrifice and cross imperfected, his priesthood destroyed, the ministry taken away, repentance repelled, and all true godliness abandoned.

In the Supper of our Lord, or Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe, that there is a true and very presence to whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver; but not to the stander by or looker on; as there is a very true presence of bread and wine, to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the Word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's Church, which the Popish Church doth persecute, will I not forsake; and therefore am I condemned as an heretic, and shall be burned.

But, my dearly beloved, this truth, which I have taught, and ye have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life, I hope in God, shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome; but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, maugre the head of all God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor no device of man can be able to defeat the verity in any other, than in such as be children of unbelief; who have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies. From which plague, the Lord of mercies deliver you and all this realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy, Amen.

And to the end ye might be delivered, right dear to me in the Lord, I shall, for my farewell with you for ever in the present life, heartily desire you all, in the bowels and blood, of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto those things, which now I shall shortly write unto you, out of the Holy Scriptures of the Lord. Ye know an heavy plague, or rather plagues, of God is fallen upon us, in taking away our good king, God's true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, &c. and setting over us such as seek not the Lord after knowledge, whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully, to the trial of many; that his people may both better know themselves, and be known.

Now the cause hereof is our iniquities, and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God, we contemned the gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our hypocrisy, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger and tarry to have shewn mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer, the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealeth with us. Yea, yet we may see,

that his justice is tempered with much mercy; whereto let us attribute, that we are not utterly consumed; for if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas, how could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved, yea, undesired on our behalf; let us take occasion the more speedily, to go out to meet him, not with force and arms, for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him; but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and according to his wonted mercy to deal with us. Let us arise with David, and say, Enter not into judgment, O Lord, with thy servant, for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified. Let us send ambassadors, with the centurion, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee, speak the word, and we shall have peace. Let us penitently, with the publican, look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, Oh, God, be merciful unto us wretched sinners. Let us, with the lost son, return and say, O, Father, we have sinned against heaven and earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy children. Let us, I say, do on this sort, that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful gospelling past, convert and turn to God, with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name; and then undoubtedly we shall find and feel otherwise, than yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of conscience, between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding; and outwardly, we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an outward taking of them away.

Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I, your poorest brother now departing to the Lord; for my Vale in æternum, for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ shewed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of prison; as often out of your pulpits I have done, that ye will repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you; whose stretched out hand to strike to death, stayeth that he might shew mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort, he will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should

return, convert, and amend; he hath no pleasure in the destruction of men, his long suffering draweth to repentance, before the time of vengeance, and day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree, utterly to destroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh, therefore, repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done; it is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false christians, as, alas, we have done. Now the Lord unto us is mercy and grace; oh, turn before he speak in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord and plenteous redemption; yet hath he not forgotten to shew mercy to them that call upon him! Oh, then call upon him while he may be found, for he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him, so that he that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. If your sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities, but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his people. His law will he write in our hearts, and ingraft it in our minds, and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your comforter. Oh, why do you stop your ears, and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice, by me, your poorest brother? Oh, forget not how that the Lord hath shewed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues, which at my mouth and by my preaching, ye often heard before they came; especially when I treated of Noah's flood, and when I preached from the 23d chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you.

And now by me, the same Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if ye will go on forwards in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, &c. wherewith, alas, alas, our country floweth; if, I say, ye will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you, and

is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you; Oh, your blood will be upon your own heads.

Ye have been warned and warned again by me in preaching, by me in burning; as I said therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and darlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, turn you, cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with idolatry, fly the Romish God and service, leave off from swearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away darkness, fly from fornication and flattery, from murder and malice, destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on piety and godliness, serve God after his word, and not after custom, use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, &c.

Be spiritual, and by the spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true, loving, gentle, merciful, and then shall the Lord's wrath cease, not for this your doings' sake, but his mercy's sake. Go to, therefore, good contrymen, take this counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you, take it as the Lord's counsel, I say, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment, I may rejoice in you and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as against the papists, God's enemies, whom I beseech God, if it be his good will, heartily to forgive; yea, even them who put me to death, and are the causes thereof, for they know not what they do; so will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, if ye repent not, amend not, and turn not unto the Lord.

Turn unto the Lord, yet once more I heartily beseech thee, thou Manchester, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Ashton-under-Line, Mottrine, Stepport, Wimley, Eccles, Prestwich, Middleton, Radcliefe, and thou City of West Chester, where I have truly taught, and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you. He will say unto his angel, it is enough, put up thy sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah, good Brethren, take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and

negligence in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy, pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour, Jesus Christ's sake, Amen.

Out of prison, ready to come to you; the 11 of February, anno 1555.*

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 65.†

*To the faithful, and such as profess the true doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts;* JOHN BRADFORD, *a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now in Bonds, and condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, mercy, and peace; with the increase of all godliness, in knowledge and living, from God the Father of comfort, through the deserts of our alone and free Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most holy spirit, the Comforter for ever, Amen.*

WHEN I remember, how that by the providence and grace of God, I have been a man by whom it hath pleased him, through my ministry to call you to repentance and amendment of life, something effectually, as it seemed, and to sow amongst you, his true doctrine and religion; but that by my affliction, and the storms now risen to try the faithful, and to conform them like to the image of the Son of God, into whose company we are called, ye might be faint hearted; I could not but out of prison, secretly, for my keepers may not know that I have pen and ink, to write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should not only be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught amongst you, which I take on my death as I shall answer at the day of doom, I am persuaded to be God's assured, infallible, and plain truth; but also should after your vocation, avouch the same by confession, profession, and living.

* See Appendix, Note, (BB.)

† Fox iii. Cov. 269.

I have not taught you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, fables, tales, or untruth; but I have taught you the verity, as now by my blood gladly, praised therefore be God, I shall seal up the same. Indeed, to confess the truth unto you and to all the Church of Christ, I do not think of myself but that I have most justly deserved, not only this kind, but also all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine hypocrisy, vain-glory, uncleanness, self-love, covetousness, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnal professing of God's holy Gospel; living thereby not so purely, lovingly, and painfully, as I should have done; the Lord of mercy, for the blood of Christ, pardon me, as I hope, yea I certainly believe, he hath done, for his holy name's sake through Christ.

But, my dearly beloved, ye and all the whole world may see and easily perceive, that the prelates persecute in me, another thing than my iniquities; even Christ himself, Christ's verity and truth, because I cannot, dare not, nor will not confess transubstantiation; and how that wicked men, yea mice and dogs, eating the sacrament, which they term of the altar, thereby overthrowing Christ's holy Supper utterly, do eat Christ's natural and real body, born of the Virgin Mary.

To believe and confess, as God's word teacheth, the primitive Church believed, and all the catholic and good holy fathers taught, for five hundred years at the least after Christ; that in the Supper of the Lord, which the mass overthroweth, as it doth Christ's priesthood, sacrifice, death and passion, the ministry of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godliness, whole Christ, God and man, is present by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not of the standers by and lookers on, as bread and wine is to their senses, will not serve; and therefore I am condemned, and shall be burned out of hand, as an heretic. Wherefore I thank my Lord God heartily, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an instrument, in whom he himself would suffer. For ye see my affliction and death is not, simply because I have deserved no less, but much more at his hands and justice; but rather because I confess his verity and truth, and am not afraid, through his gift, so to do, that ye also might be confirmed in his truth.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, I heartily do pray you, and so

many as unfeignedly love me in God, to give with me and for me most hearty thanks to our heavenly Father, through our Saviour Jesus Christ, for this his exceeding great mercy towards me and you also; that your faith should not waver from the doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can ye desire more to assure your consciences, of the verity taught by your preachers, than their own lives? Go to, therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Christ's religion, truly taught you and set forth in King Edward's days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, to imprison it, and keep it in bonds. Us they may imprison, they may bind, and burn, as they do and will do, so long as shall please the Lord; but our cause, religion, and doctrine, which we confess, they shall never be able to vanquish and put away.

Then idolatry and popish religion, shall never be built in the consciences of men that love the truth. As for those that love not God's truth, that have no pleasure to walk in the ways of the Lord; in those, I say, the devil shall prevail, for God will give them strong illusion, to believe lies. Therefore, dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you and pray you, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death, for the testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done before this present out of the pulpit, that ye would love the Lord's truth; love it, I say, to live it, and frame your lives thereafter.

Alas, ye know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which God's adversaries have daily, is for our not living God's word. Ye know how that we are gospellers in lips and not in life; we are carnal, full of concupiscence, idle, unthankful, unclean, covetous, arrogant, tipplers, crafty, subtle, malicious, false, backbiters, &c.; and even glutted with God's word, yea we loathed it, as did the Israelites the manna in the wilderness; and therefore, as to them, the Lord's wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, for it is better late to turn than never to turn, but that we confess our faults, even from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearty repentance, which God work in us all, for his mercy's sake, we run unto the Lord our God; who is exorable, merciful, and sorry for the evil poured out upon us; and cry out unto him, with Daniel, We have sinned, we have sinned

grievously, Oh Lord God, against thy majesty; we have heaped iniquity upon iniquity, the measure of our transgressions floweth over, so that justly is thy wrath and vengeance fallen upon us; for we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long suffering, we have not hearkened to thy voice; when thou hast called us by thy preachers, we hardened our hearts, and therefore now deserve that thou sendest thy curse hereupon to harden our hearts also; that we should henceforth have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, lest we should be converted and saved.

Oh, be merciful unto us, spare us, good Lord, and all thy people, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether and always against thee, for then will they be puffed up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaints of the poor, let the sorrowful sighings of the simple come in thy sight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us, O Lord God of Hosts, unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou mayest be justified in thy sweet sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries; for they say, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their Gospel serve them? Oh, Lord, how long? For the glory of thy name, and for thy honour's sake, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable.

On this sort, I say, dearly beloved, let us publicly and privately bewail our sins; but so that hereto we join ceasing from wilfulness and sin of purpose, for else the Lord heareth not our prayers, as David saith; and in St. John it is written, The impenitent sinners God heareth not. Now impenitent are they who purpose not to amend their lives; as for example, not only those who follow still their pleasures, in covetousness, uncleanness, carnality; but those also who, for fear or favour of man, do against their conscience, consent to the Romish rags, and resort to the rotten religion, communicating in service and ceremonies with the papists; thereby declaring themselves to love the world more than God, to fear man more than Christ, to dread the loss of temporal things more than of eternal; in whom it is evident, the love of God abideth not; for he that loveth the world, hath not God's love abiding in him, saith the Evangelist.

Therefore, my dear hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what ye have professed, Christ's religion and name, and the renouncing of the devil, sin, and the world. Remember that before ye learned A. B. C., your lesson was Christ's cross. Forget not that Christ will have no disciples, but such as will promise to deny themselves, and take up their cross, mark, they must take it up, and follow him; and not the multitude, custom, and use.

Consider, for God's sake, that if we gather not with Christ, we scatter abroad. What should it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his own soul? We must not forget that this life is a wilderness, and not a paradise; here is not our home, we are now in warfare; we must needs fight, or else be taken prisoners. Of all things we have in this life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our captain, we must follow him as good soldiers. If we keep company with him in affliction, we shall be sure of his society in glory. If we forsake not him, he will never forsake us. If we confess him, he will confess us; but if we deny him, he will deny us. If we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook Father, heaven, and all things, to come to us; so let us forsake all things, to come to him, being sure and most certain, that we shall not lose thereby. Your children shall find, and feel it double, yea treble, whatsoever ye lose for the Lord's sake; and ye shall find and feel peace of conscience and friendship with God, which is more worth than all the goods of the world.

My dearly beloved, therefore, for the Lord's sake, consider these things, which I now write unto you of love, for my Vale and last farewell for ever, in this present life. Turn to the Lord, repent ye your evil and unthankful life, declare repentance by the fruits, take time whilst you have it, come to the Lord whilst he calleth you, run into his lap whilst his arms are open to embrace you, seek him whilst he may be found, call upon him whilst time is convenient; forsake and fly from all evil, both in religion, and in the rest of your life and conversation; let your lights so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and praise God in the day of his visitation.

Oh, come again, come again, ye stray children, and I will receive you, saith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you; why will ye needs perish? As sure as I live,

sweareth the Lord, I will not your death, turn therefore unto me. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? If she should, yet will not I forget you, saith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he, who putteth away your sins, for mine own sake. Oh then, dear friends, turn, I say, unto your dearest Father; cast not these his sweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail, for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it, which is in two sorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts and believe it, will he pay all and eternal joy and comfort; but to them that cast it at their backs, and wilfully forget it; to them, I say, will he pour out indignation and eternal shame.

Wherefore, I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you and every of you, not to contemn this poor and simple exhortation, which now out of prison, I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I be, to be a witness against you in the last day, as of truth I must be if ye repent not, if ye love not God's gospel, yea, if ye live it not. Therefore, to conclude, repent, love God's gospel, live it in all your conversation; so shall God's name be praised, his plagues mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Grant all this thou gracious Lord God, to every of us, for thy dear Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be eternal glory, for ever and ever, Amen. The 12 of February, 1555.

By the bondman of the Lord, your afflicted poor brother.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 66.*

## To MASTER SHALLCROSS AND HIS WIFE,

*Dwelling in Lancashire.*

THE peace of conscience in Christ, and through faith in his blood, which as it passeth, and is far better than any worldly riches or joy;

* Cov. 359.

so is it to be redeemed with the loss of the dearest treasures we have, rather than we should lose it; this peace I wish unto you good M. Shallcross, and unto your good yoke-fellow, my good sister in the Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

Hitherto, although I could not write unto you, yet as I trust you pray for me, so I have not been forgetful of you, in my poor prayers to Almighty God, my dear Father through Christ; to whom I give humble praises that he hath given you grace as yet, for so I hear, to keep yourself undefiled in his service, which far differeth from the Romish rags revived of late, and justly for our sins and unthankful using his true religion and holy ceremonies, once again in peace and use amongst us,

In token whereof, I mean that I have not been forgetful of you, I thought good now when I may write, to signify the same, as well to renew our mutual love in God, and care for one another by hearty prayer; as to excite and provoke you both to thankfulness for God's graces hitherto, especially in the point before spoken of, and to be diligent and wary that you unto the end continue in the same; for you know that perseverance in godliness and purity, is required of us, and that none other shall be crowned but such as fight lawfully.

Go to, therefore, and fight on a good fight stoutly and manfully; that is, as you know God is not to be worshipped and served, but after his word written, and not after unwritten verities, or the device, fancy, and pleasures of men or women, in what state soever they be; accordingly behave yourself, as inwardly in God's sight, so outwardly before your brethren. Seem not to approve by your outward man, that which the inward man detesteth. It is not enough to believe with the heart, except the mouth and fact confess the same. Nor it is not enough with the mouth to acknowledge a verity, and by our fact and deed to destroy the same.

Paul speaketh sometimes of deniers of God, not only with their lips and tongue, but also with their deed and life. Let not the world, or the more part of men, be an example to you to follow them, or do as they do, in the service of God. Christ saith, Follow me, speaking of himself, who is the pattern and sampler we should set before us; and not the world or more part, which windeth the wide and broad way, whose end doth lead to perdition and

everlasting woe; but rather let the example of such as walk in the narrow and strait way, which bringeth to life endless, encourage you to walk with them, although the number of them be but few; and the personages of them be utterly contemned with the world, and in the world, which world cannot love, no, nor know indeed, the children of God, because it cannot receive the spirit of God. And therefore, as the ape her young ones, so it, the world I mean, doth think her own birds the fairest, contemning, with deadly hate, all others that will not follow her judgment.

But what saith Christ? Be of good cheer; although the world will persecute you, yet I have overcome the world. Oh, comfortable sentence, I have overcome the world. This undoubtedly he meaneth for you and me and all other his children, that he hath overcome the world for us. But by what means? Surely by suffering contempt, wrong, false reports, and even very shameful and most bitter death.

If he went this way, and won the victory this way, as I trust we know; let us as his servants, whose state ought not to be above our master's, not be dismayed of contempt, of wrong, of loss of goods or life itself; but rather joyfully suffer the same as men, knowing we have better portions in heaven, and that this is the sure way to victory most victorious; for by many tribulations must we enter into the kingdom of heaven; if we would come thither, except for tribulation's sake, we shall with ease, and worldly quietness, go to hell.

You know what Paul saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesu, must suffer persecution; wherefore in that you are in Christ Jesu, I dare say you will continue, though persecution come to you, being assured that it cannot come, except God have so decreed; and if he have so decreed, then cannot you but receive it, or else a cross which will be much worse. Willingly therefore take what cross the Lord shall offer, and then the Lord will make you able to bear it, and never tempt you further than he will make you strong enough. Yea, all the hairs of your head he will number and keep, so that one of them shall not perish; but if you should refuse God's cross, especially in suffering the loss of any thing for his sake, who giveth you all the good that ever you have and keepeth it; if, I say, you refuse; be certain the plagues of God will be poured down, first on

your soul and conscience in hardening your heart, and blinding your mind, either by bringing you into despair, or into a contempt and carnal security; whereafter will ensue loss of the dearest things you have, if God love you, or else he will conserve the same, to your eternal destruction.

I write not this, as distrusting your constancy in God's cause, God forbid, for methinks I am assured of your godly zeal; but I do it as I said, that you may be the more heedy, wary, diligent, and earnestly given to call upon the name of God, for his help and grace of perseverance, who is more ready to give than we to ask.

I know this kind of writing is madness to the world, foolishness to reason, and sour to the flesh; but to you who are a man of God, and by profession in baptism have forsaken the world, and do consider things after the reach of faith, and have tasted of the good spirit of God, and of the life to come: unto such a one I say, as I trust you be, this kind of writing is otherwise esteemed. For here you are but a pilgrim, your home is in heaven, your treasures are there hoarded,* where thieves cannot come to steal them; there is your heart, and therefore you can and will say, as the philosopher said when he was robbed of all he had, omnia mea mecum porto, I carry all with me. If he, an heathen, took his riches to be the world's rather than his, how much more should we do so?

Therefore, my dear brother, accordingly prepare yourself, as you have done and do I hope. Read the second of Ecclesiasticus, how he counselleth them that will serve God, to prepare themselves to temptation. Often set before your eyes the judgment of Christ, his coming in the clouds, and the resurrection, which is now our comfort, especially in afflictions. I write to you none otherwise than I am persuaded, I thank God, and purpose to go before you. I know there is an eternal life, and I hope to be partaker of it through Christ. I know this is the way thither, I mean by suffering. I know that if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. I know that by the cross he maketh us like to Christ here, that we might be like to him elsewhere; therefore I write to you not words only.

And hereupon I am the more earnest, as to admonish, so to pray

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* Hurded.

you, to cleave still to the Lord, and his true religion, which you have received, and I for my part am sure that I have preached unto you. For the confirmation whereof, as I am in bonds, so I trust in the goodness of God and his power, to give my life in and for the same; that you and others might be certain and follow as God shall call you, and vouch you worthy. Remember that die you must, but when, as you know not, so where and how, it is uncertain to you. Again, all that you have you must leave behind you, for nothing shall go with you, but a good or an evil conscience. Moreover, to whom you shall leave your goods it is hid from you; for you may purpose, but God will dispose.

Therefore if God will have you to die, or to leave your goods for his cause, how much are you bound then to bless God? Sure you may be, that then you cannot perish, for of all ways to heaven it is the most sure way. Your goods God will preserve, so that your children shall find them, although the wicked spoil every piece of them; for the righteous man's seed, I have not seen, saith David, beg their bread, but God will bless them unto a thousand generations; the which thing I pray God to remember, towards your children, for his name's sake, Amen.

Thus will I betake you to God, and to his holy word; which is able, as to teach you which way to serve God, so to save you, if you believe and love it. If I thought it might do you any good, I would send you a book, which James Bradshaw already hath, to teach you how you should behave yourselves, especially concerning the mass; I wrote it since my trouble. Commend me to T. Riddleston, although I fear me, he has defiled himself in this false service. That book I wish he would read; as you shall advertise me, I will do in sending to him. I shall pray God to illuminate his eyes with his grace. Commend me to Sir W. Charelton, who I trust hath kept himself pure from idolatry; God grant him so continue. Written in haste, as it appeareth, from the Compter in the Poultry. By your's in Christ.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 67.*

## CONFERENCE WITH THE EARL OF DERBY'S SERVANT.

On the 12 of February there came to Bradford one of the Earl of Derby's servants.

*Serv.* My Lord hath sent me to you, he willeth you to tender yourself, and he would be a good lord unto you.

*Brad.* I thank his Lordship for his good will towards me; but in this cause I cannot tender myself, more than God's honour.

*Serv.* Ah, M. Bradford, consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort it will be unto them, to see you die as an heretic.

*Brad.* I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have; yea, even mine own self, for else I cannot be Christ's disciple.

*Serv.* If my Lord should obtain for you, that ye might depart the realm; would ye not be content to be at the Queen's appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea?

*Brad.* No, I had rather be burned in England, than be burned beyond the seas; for I know that if she should send me to Paris, Louvaine, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me.

## No. 68.†

## CONFERENCE with PERCIVAL CRESSWELL.

On the 14 of February, Percival Cresswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him bringing with him a kinsman of M. Fecknam's.

* Fox iii. 292. † Fox iii. 292.

*Cress.* I pray you let me make labour for you?

*Brad.* You may do what ye will.

*Cress.* But tell me what suit I should make for you?

*Brad.* Forsooth that ye will do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the Queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her.

Hereupon Cresswell went away, and about eleven of the clock he and the other man came again; and brought a book of More's* making, desiring Bradford to read it over.

*Brad.* Good Percival, I am settled for being moved in this article.

*Cress.* Oh, if ye loved me, do one thing for me.

*Brad.* What is it?

*Cress.* Desire and name what learned man or men, ye will have to come unto you, my Lord of York, my Lord of Lincoln, my Lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you.

*Brad.* No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine, as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them.

## No. 69.†

## CONFERENCE WITH DR. HARDING.

About three o'clock in the afternoon Dr. Harding‡ came to Bradford, and after a great and solemn protestation, shewing how that he had prayed to God before he came, to turn his talk to

* Most probably his book against Luther. † Fox iii. 292.

‡ Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, and the same to whom Bishop Jowell's admirable defence was addressed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Bradford's good; he began to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford, and spent the time in such tattling, so that their talk was to little purpose; save that Bradford prayed him to consider from whence he was fallen, and not to follow the world, nor to love it; for the love of God is not where the world is.

Harding counted Bradford in a damnable estate, as one being out of the church; and therefore willed him to take heed of his soul, and not to die in such an opinion.

*Brad.* What M. Harding! I have heard you with these ears, maintain that which I stand in.

*Hard.* I grant that I have taught that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a subtle doctrine, but otherwise I never taught it.

And so he inveighing against marriages of priests, and namely against Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and such, who for breaking their vows were justly given up unto heresies, as he said; and Bradford seeing him altogether given up to popery, after admonishment thereof, bad him farewell.

## No. 70.*

## BRADFORD'S FIRST CONFERENCE WITH ARCHDEACON HARPSFIELD.

On the 15 of February, Percival Cresswell came with M. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London; and after formal salutations, made a long oration; that all men even Infidels, Turks, Jews, Anabaptists, and Libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and that every one thinketh they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

*Harps.* But the way thither is not all alike; for the Infidels by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his

* Fox iii. 292

Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the soul.

*Brad.* You speak truly.

*Harps.* Well then, here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.

*Brad.* We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness; I am the way.

*Harps.* It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ?

*Brad.* I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ; albeit I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved.

*Harps.* No, not all who believe in Christ; for some shall say; Lord, Lord, have not we cast out devils, &c.? But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, Depart from me, I know you not.

*Brad.* You must make difference betwixt believing and saying, I believe; as for example, if one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his saying ye will not believe him, when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you he can?

*Harps.* Well, this is not much material; there is but one way, Christ. How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?

*Brad.* Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word.

*Harps.* Very good; but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us, but by baptism?

*Brad.* Baptism is the sacrament, by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Christ; I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die without baptism. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them; and cannot have it.

*Harps.* To these we may think perchance, that God will shew mercy?

*Brad.* Yea, the children whose parents do contemn baptism, will not I condemn, because the child shall not bear the father's offence.

*Harps.* Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought,

and, as a man would say, begotten to Christ. For Christ is our father, and the Church his spouse is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; so all spiritual men have Christ for their father, and the Church for their mother; and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so was the Church taken out of Christ's side, whereout flowed blood for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins.

*Brad.* All this is truly spoken.

*Harps.* Now then tell me whether this Church of Christ hath not been always?

*Brad.* Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever.

*Harps.* Very good; but yet tell me whether this Church is a visible Church or no?

*Brad.* It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or shew, that setteth her forth commonly; and therefore to see, we must put on such eyes as good men put on to see and know Christ, when he walked here on earth. For as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the Church of the same substance that Christ was of, *flesh of his flesh*, and *bone of his bones*, as Paul saith.* Look therefore how Christ was visibly known to be Christ, when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the word of God, so is the Church known.

*Harps.* I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this Church a multitude?

*Brad.* Yes, that it is; howbeit, *latet anguis in herba*, as the proverb is; for in your question is a subtlety. What visible multitude was there in Elias's time, or when Moses was on the mount, and Aaron and all Israel worshipping the calf?

*Harps.* Ye divert from the matter.

*Brad.* No, nothing at all; for I do prevent you, knowing well whereabout you go; and therefore fewer words might well serve, if that you so would.

*Harps.* Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministry, or preaching of God's word?

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* Ephes. v.

*Brad.* Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand preaching for confessing of the Gospel, I will go with you; for else if you will, you may know that persecution often letteth preaching.

*Harps.* Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more; hath it not the sacraments administered?

*Brad.* It hath the sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpose, because I see whereabout you go. If heretics have baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time; you know this baptism is baptism, and not to be reiterate.

This Bradford did speak, that the standers by might see, that though the Papist's Church have baptism, which we have received of them; yet *therefore* it is not the true Church, neither need we to be baptized again.

*Harps.* You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors than one.

*Brad.* So you say, but that is not enough till you prove them.

*Harps.* Well, this Church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the Gospel, and the ministration of the sacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?

*Brad.* What jurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?

*Harps.* I mean by jurisdiction, admonishing one another, and so forth.

*Brad.* Well, go to; what then?

*Harps.* It hath also succession of bishops.

And here he made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

*Brad.* You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the Church that you go about to set up, will fall down. *You shall not find in all the Scripture, this your essential part of succession of bishops.** In Christ's Church antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the Old Church, afore Christ's

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* "Succession of Bishops is no essential part of the Church; but rather *accidens commune;* which, being interrupted, yet the Church may stand; as it did both before Christ's coming and after at the coming of antichrist."—Fox, *in Loco.*

coming; so will it be in the New Church, since Christ's coming; that is, as there were false prophets, and such as have rule were adversaries to the true prophets; so shall there be, saith he,* false teachers, *even of such as are bishops*, and bear rule amongst the people.

*Harps.* You go always out of the matter; but I will prove further the succession of bishops.

*Brad.* Do so.

*Harps.* Tell me, were not the apostles bishops?

*Brad.* No, except you will make a new definition of a bishop; that is, give him no certain place.

*Harps.* Indeed, the apostle's office was not the bishop's office; for it was universal; but yet Christ instituted bishops in his Church, as Paul saith, He hath given pastors, prophets, &c.; so that, I trow, it be proved by the Scriptures, that the succession of bishops, is an essential point.

*Brad.* The ministry of God's word and ministers, is an essential point; but to translate this to the bishops, and their succession, is a plain subtlety; and therefore that it may be plain, I will ask you a question. Tell me, *whether that the Scripture knew any difference between bishops and ministers, which ye called priests?*

*Harps.* No!

*Brad.* Well, then go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the succession of bishops; that is, of ministers; which cannot be understood of such bishops as minister not, but lord it.

*Harps.* I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your doctrine, you can never shew in your Church, a multitude which ministereth God's word and his sacraments, which hath jurisdiction and succession of bishops, which hath, from time to time, believed as you believe, beginning now and so going upwards, as I will do of our doctrine; and therefore are ye out of the Church, and so cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me downwards, a shew to clear people's eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial.

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* 2 Peter ii.

*Brad.* Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the scriptures and examples of good men.

*Harps.* Yea.

*Brad.* Well then, Stephen was accused and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine, before the Fathers of the Church then, as they were taken. Stephen, for his purgation, improveth their accusation. But how? Doth he it by going upwards? No, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham' and continuing still till Isaiah's time, and the people's captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap, until the time he was in, which was, I think, upon four hundred years, and called them by their right names, *hell-hounds*, rather than heaven-hounds. On this sort will I prove my faith, and that can you never do yours.

*Harps.* Yea, Sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you.

Here Bradford would have answered, that Stephen's enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did. But as he was speaking, M. Harpsfield rose up, and the keeper and others who stood by, began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heed to what M. Archdeacon spake, who still said that Bradford was out of the Church.

*Brad.* Sir, I am most certain that I am in Christ's Church, and I can shew a demonstration of my religion, from time to time continually.

*God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ, be merciful unto us, and unto all his people; and deliver them from false teachers, and blind guides; through whom, alas, I fear me, much hurt will come to this Realm of England. God, our Father, bless us, and keep us in his truth, and poor Church for ever. Amen.*

Then the Archdeacon departed, saying that he would come again the next morning.

## No. 71.*

# BRADFORD'S SECOND CONFERENCE WITH HARPSFIELD.

On the 16 February in the morning, the Archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again; and after a few by-words spoken, sat down. M. Archdeacon began a very long oration, first respecting what they had said, and how far they had gone overnight. And therewith did begin to prove upwards, succession of Bishops here in England for eight hundred years; in France, at Lyons, for one thousand two hundred years; in Spain, at Hispalen, for eight hundred years; in Italy, at Milan, for one thousand two hundred years; labouring by this to prove his Church. He used all succession of bishops in the East Church, for the more confirmation of his words; and so concluded with an exhortation, and an interrogation. The exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could shew any such succession, for the demonstration of his Church, for so he called it, which followed.

*Brad.* My memory is evil, so that I cannot answer particularly your oration. Wherefore I will generally do it, thinking because your oration is rather to persuade than to prove, that a smaller answer shall serve. If Christ or his apostles, being here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the Church then, to have made a demonstration of that Church, by succession of such high priests, as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do. That is, he would have alleged that which upholdeth the Church, even the verity, the Word of God taught and believed; not by the high priests, who of long time had persecuted it, but by the prophets and other good simple men, who perchance were counted for heretics of the Church; which Church was not *tied to succession*, but to the *Word of God*. And this to think, St. Peter giveth me occasion, when he saith, that as it went in the Church before Christ's coming, so shall it go in the Church after his

* Fox iii. 294.

coming; but *then* the pillars of the Church, were persecutors of the Church; therefore the like we must look for *now*.

*Harps.* I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem, of the High Priests from Aaron's time.

*Brad.* I grant, but not such succession as allowed the truth.

*Harps.* Why, did they not allow Moses' law?

*Brad.* Yea, and keep it, as touching the books thereof, as you do the Bible; and Holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it, they did corrupt, as you have done, and do; and therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the Prophets and Christ, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea hourly, and I think my time is but very short; therefore I had need spend as much time with God as I can, whilst I have it, for his help and comfort; and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly, and in more words, answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly; but because I dare not, nor I will not leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, though I do as I do, and heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I shall heartily pray God, our Father, to give you the same light and life, I do wish to myself.

And so Bradford began to rise up, but then began M. Archdeacon to tell him, that he was in a very perilous case; and that he was sorry to see him so settled.

*Harps.* As for death, whether it be nigh or far off I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did die well.

*Brad.* I doubt not in this case, but that I shall die well; for as I hope and am certain, my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully, to the comfort of his children.

*Harps.* But what if you be deceived?

*Brad.* What if you should say the sun did not shine now?*

* The sun did shine through the window where they sat.—Fox.

*Harps.* Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless.

*Brad.* Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be, God make me more vigilant; but in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth.

*Harps.* That are ye not; for you are out of the catholic church.

*Brad.* No, though you have excommunicated me out of *your* Church, yet am I in the Catholic Church of Christ; and am, and by God's grace shall be a child, and an obedient child of it for ever. I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated of the synagogue. And further I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy Church; so that even your Church hath taken too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the testimony of my Lord of Durham, in the Book of the Sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred year after Christ, to believe or not believe.

*Harps.* What is that?

*Brad.* Transubstantiation.

*Harps.* Why? Ye are not condemned therefore only.

*Brad.* For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body.

*Harps.* You agree not with us in the presence, nor in any thing else.

*Brad.* How you believe, you know; for my part I confess a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver.

*Harps.* Nay, you must believe a real presence in the sacrament.

*Brad.* In the sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tie him to it, otherwise than faith seeth and perceiveth. If I should include Christ really present in the sacrament, or tie him to it otherwise than to the faith of the receiver; then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will, by God's grace, believe.

*Harps.* More pity, but a man may easily perceive, you make no presence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us.

*Brad.* I confess a presence, and a true presence, but to the faith of the receiver.

What, saith one that stood by, of Christ's very body which died for us?

*Brad.* Yea, even of whole Christ, God and man, to feed the faith of him that receiveth it.

*Harps.* Why, this is nothing else but to exclude the omnipotency of God, and all kind of miracle in the sacrament?

*Brad.* I do not exclude his omnipotency, but you do it rather; for I believe that Christ can accomplish his promise, the substance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the sacrament, we come not to feed our bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of bread; but we come to feed our souls with Christ by faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but panem Domini, as Judas did, and not panem Dominum, as the other apostles did.

*Harps.* The wicked do receive the very body of Christ, but not the grace of his body.

*Brad.* They receive not the body, for Christ's body is no dead carcase; he that receiveth it, receiveth the spirit, which is not without grace I trow.

*Harps.* Well, you have many errors; you count the mass for abomination, and yet St. Ambrose said mass.

And so he read out of a written book, a sentence of St. Ambrose to prove it.

*Brad.* Why Sir, the mass as it is now, was nothing so in St. Ambrose's time. Was not the most part of the canon made since by Gregory and Scholasticus?

*Harps.* Indeed a great piece of it was made, as ye say, by Gregory; but Scholasticus* was before St. Ambrose's time.

*Brad.* I ween not; howbeit I will not contend. St. Gregory saith, that the apostles said mass without the canon, only with the Lord's prayer.

*Harps.* You say true; for the canon is not the greatest part of the mass; the greatest part is the sacrifice, elevation, transubstantiation, and adoration.

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* It appears to be uncertain who is here referred to. St. Gregory mentions him. —*Lib.* vii. *Ind.* 2. *Epist.* 63.—*Petrie* i. 151.—*Preservative against Popery, vol.* ii. *Tit.* vi. *ch.* 2. *p.* 75. Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Græca, refers to two persons who bore the above cognomen, viz. John of Antioch, *vol.* x. 158. and who is probably the individual alluded to; and John Climacus, *vol.* viii. 615. who was Abbot of Mount Sinai.

*Brad.* I can away with none of those.

*Harps.* No, I think the same; but yet, *hoc facite*, telleth plainly the sacrifice of the church.

*Brad.* You confound sacrifices, not discerning betwixt the sacrifice of the church, and for the church. The sacrifice of the church, is no propitiatory sacrifice, but a gratulatory sacrifice, and as for, *hoc facite*, is not referred to any sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating, &c.

*Harps.* You speak not learnedly now; for Christ made his supper only to the twelve apostles, not admitting his mother, or any of the seventy disciples to it. Now the apostles do signify the priests.

*Brad.* I think that you speak, as you would men should understand it; for else you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your bread; for I perceive you order the matter so, as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole church.

Then Harpsfield would have proved *elevation* by a place of Basil.

*Brad.* I have read the place, which seemeth to make nothing for elevation; but be it as it is, this is no time for me to scan the doubtful places of the doctors with you. I have been in prison long without books, and all necessaries for study: and now death draweth nigh, and I by your leave, must now leave off, to prepare for him.

*Harps.* If I could do you good, I would be right glad; either in soul or body, for you are in a perilous case both ways.

*Brad.* Sir, I thank you for your good will, my case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me; for death to me shall be life.

*Cress.* It were best for you to desire M. Archdeacon that he would make suit for you, that you might have a time to confer.

*Harps.* I will do the best I can, for I pity his case,

*Brad.* Sir, I will not desire any body to sue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any body should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think I am in an error, I think the same should move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, so do I of you, that you are far out of the way; and I do not only think it, but also am thereof most assured.

And in this, and such like gentle talk, they departed.

## No. 72.*

# CONFERENCE WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK† AND THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.‡

On the 23 February, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Chichester, came to the Compter to speak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the Archbishop of York, used him very gently; they would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood; and whether he would or not, they would needs he should put on, not only his nightcap, but his upper cap also, saying to him, that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my Lord of York began to tell Bradford how that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him: and he, for that acquaintance also which he had with Bradford, more than the Bishop of Chichester had. Then after commending Bradford's *godly life*, he concluded with this question, How he was certain of salvation, and of his religion?

After thanks for their good will,

*Brad.* By the word of God, even by the Scriptures, I am certain of salvation and religion.

*Heath.* Very well said; but how do ye know the word of God and the Scriptures, but by the Church?

*Brad.* Indeed, my Lord, the Church was and is a mean, to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the word of God; as was the woman of Samaria, a mean that the Samaritans knew Christ. But, as when they had heard him speak, they said, Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him; so after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures, shewed unto us, and discerned

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* Fox iii. 295. † Heath. ‡ Day.

by the Church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep; not because the Church saith they are the Scriptures, but because they be so, being thereof assured by the same Spirit, who wrote and spake them.

*Heath.* You know, in the apostles' time at the first, the word was not written.

*Brad.* True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament; but else for the Old Testament, Peter telleth us, *Firmiorem sermonem propheticum habemus; We have a more sure word of prophecy;* not that it is simply so, but in respect of the apostles, who being alive and encompassed with infirmity, attributed to the word written more firmity, as wherewith no fault could be found; whereas, for the infirmity of their persons, men perchance might have found some fault at their preaching; albeit in very deed, no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth forth of one spirit of truth.

*Heath.* That place of Peter is not so to be understood of the word written.

*Brad.* Yea, Sir, that it is, and of none other,

*Day.* Yea, indeed, M. Bradford doth tell you truly in that point.

*Heath.* Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and allege the Church against the heretics, and not the Scriptures.

*Brad.* True, for they had to do with such heretics as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles; so that they were enforced to use the authority of those churches, wherein the apostles had taught, and which had still retained the same doctrine.

*Day.* You speak the very truth; for the heretics did refuse all Scriptures, except it were a piece of Luke's Gospel.

*Brad.* Then the alleging of the Church cannot be principally used against me, who am so far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only judge.

*Heath.* A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the Church. I pray you, where hath your Church been hitherto? For the Church of Christ is catholic and visible hitherto.

*Brad.* My Lord, I do not judge the Church, when I discern it

from that congregation, and those which be not of the Church; and I never denied the Church to be catholic and visible, although it be more visible at some times than at others.

*Day.* I pray you tell me where the Church which allowed your doctrine, was these four hundred years?

*Brad.* I will tell you, my Lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing, where the Church was in Elijah's time, when Eljah said that he was left alone?

*Day.* That is no answer.

*Brad.* I am sorry that you say so; but this will I tell your Lordship, that if you had the same eyes, wherewith a man might have espied the Church then; you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the Church is not seen of you, is not because the Church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it.

*Day.* You are much deceived, in making this collation betwixt the Church then and now.

*Heath.* Very well spoken, my Lord; for Christ said, Edificabo Ecclesiam, I will build my Church; and not I do, or have built it, but I will build it.

*Brad.* My Lords, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, saying; As in the people there were false prophets, who were most in estimation afore Christ's coming; so shall there be false teachers amongst the people after Christ's coming; and very many shall follow them. And as for your future tense, I hope your Grace will not thereby conclude Christ's Church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the Church, but by Christ's work only; for Paul and Apollos be but waterers.

*Day.* In good faith, I am sorry to see you so light in judging the Church.

*Heath.* He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the Church. A man shall never come to certainty that doth as they do.

*Brad.* My Lords, I speak simply what I think, and desire reason to answer my objections. Your affections and sorrow cannot be my rules. If that you consider the order and cause of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it should something move your

Honours. You know it well enough, for you heard it, no matter was laid against me, but what was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I did deny transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated; but not of the Church, although the pillars of the Church, as they be taken, did it.

*Day.* No, I heard say the cause of your imprisonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in the one hand, and the mattock in the other.

*Brad.* My Lord, I never meant any such thing, nor spake any thing in that sort.

*Heath.* Yea, and you behaved yourself before the Council so stoutly at the first, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you imprisoned.

*Brad.* Your Grace did hear me answer my Lord Chancellor to that point. But put case I had been so stout, as they and your Grace make it; were not the laws of the realm on my side then? Wherefore unjustly was I imprisoned; only that which my Lord Chancellor propounded, was my confession of Christ's truth against transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I said.

*Heath.* You deny the presence.

*Brad.* I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers.

*Heath.* Why? What is that to say other, than that Christ lieth not on the altar?

*Brad.* My Lord, I believe *no such* presence.

*Day.* It seemeth that you have not read Chrysostom; for he proveth it.

*Brad.* Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books; howbeit this I do remember of Chrysostom, that he saith that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the seraphims, with their tongues, touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven; which is an hyperbolical locution, of which you know Chrysostom is full.

*Heath.* It is evident that you are too far gone; but let us come then to the Church, out of the which ye are excommunicate.

*Brad.* I am not excommunicate out of Christ's Church, my Lord, although they who seem to be in the Church, and of the

Church, have excommunicated me; as the poor blind man was, *John* ix.—I am sure Christ receiveth me.

*Heath.* You do deceive yourself.

*Brad.* Assuredly, as I think you did well to depart from the Romish Church, so I think you have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again; for you can never prove that, which you call the Mother Church, to be Christ's Church.

*Day.* Ah, M. Bradford, you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the University, I went with the world; but I tell you it was always against my conscience.

*Brad.* I was but a child then, howbeit as I told you, I think you have done evil. For ye are come, and have brought others to that wicked man, who sitteth in the Temple of God, that is, in the Church; for it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the Church, but of such as bear rule in the Church.

*Heath.* See how you build your faith upon such places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive yourself; as though ye were in the Church, where you are not.

*Brad.* Well, my Lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others; yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the Church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament; knowing as you know, that at the least eight hundred years after Christ, *as my Lord of Durham writeth*, it was free to believe or not to believe transubstantiation.

*Heath.* This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain; as though a man not believing as the Church doth, that is, transubstantiation, were of the Church.

*Day.* He is an heretic, and so none of the Church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the Church; as a man to hold against transubstantiation. Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed rebaptizing of them who were baptized of heretics, because he held it before the Church had defined it; whereas if he had holden it after, then had he been an heretic.

*Brad.* Oh, my Lord, will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, *wherein I take the unity of Christ's Church to consist*, although in some points he

believe not the definition of that, which ye call the Church? I doubt not but that he holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definition, yet he shall be saved.

*Heath.* } Yea, this is your divinity.
*Day.* }

*Brad.* No, it is Paul's, who saith, that if they hold the foundation Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved.

*Heath.* Lord God, how you delight to lean to the hard and dark places of the scriptures.

*Day.* I will shew you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter.

And so he read a piece of Luther making for his purpose.

*Brad.* My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you much pass not, no more do I in this case. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Œcolampadius in this point; and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were and are God's children, and saints with him.

*Heath.* Well, you are out of the communion of the Church.

*Brad.* I am not, for it consisteth, and is in faith.

*Heath.* Lo, how you make your Church invisible; for you would have the communion of it to consist in faith.

*Brad.* For to have communion with the Church needeth no visibleness of it; for communion consisteth as I said, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paul, who would have one faith; and by Irenæus to Victor, for the observation of Easter, saying that, disagreeing of fasting, should not break the agreeing of faith.

*Day.* The same place hath often even wounded my conscience, because we dissevered ourselves from the See of Rome.

*Brad.* Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil to bring England thither again.

Here my Lord of York took a book of paper of common places, and read a piece of St. Augustin, contra epistolam fundamenti; how that there were many things that did hold St. Austin in the bosom of the Church; consent of people and nations,

authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity. Besides this, there holdeth me in the Church, said St. Augustin, the succession of priests from St. Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all the very name of catholic doth hold me, &c.

*Heath.* Lo, how say you to this of St. Augustine? Paint me out your Church thus.

*Brad.* My Lord, these words of St. Austin make as much for me as for you; although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles. For there was the law and the ceremonies, consented to by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops, from Aaron's time until that present.

*Day.* In good faith, M. Bradford, you make too much of the state of the Church, before Christ's coming.

*Brad.* Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 *Pet.* ii.—and Paul very often. You would gladly have your Church here very glorious, and as a most pleasant lady. But as Christ said, *Beatus est quicunque non fuerit offensus per me*, so may his Church say, Blessed are they that are not offended at me.

*Heath.* Yea, you think that none is of the Church, but such as suffer persecution.

*Brad.* What I think, God knoweth; I pray your Grace judge me by my words and speaking, and mark what Paul saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. Sometimes Christ's Church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and especially towards the end her form will be more unseemly.

*Heath.* But what say you to St. Austin? Where is your Church that hath the consent of people and nations?

*Brad.* Even all people and nations that be God's people, have consented with me, and I with them in the doctrine of faith.

*Heath.* Lo, ye go about to shift off all things.

*Brad.* No, my Lord; I mean simply, and so speak, God knoweth.

*Heath.* St. Augustine doth here talk of succession, even from Peter's seat.

*Brad.* Yea, that seat then was nothing so much corrupt as it is now.

*Heath.* Well, you always judge the Church.

*Brad.* No, my Lord, Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the Church, but judge her not.

*Heath.* Yes, that they do.

*Brad.* No, and it like your Grace; and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish Church; for she obeyeth not Christ's voice, as Christ's true Church doth.

*Heath.* Wherein?

*Brad.* In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament; and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege.

*Day.* Why? Latin service was in England, when the Pope was gone.

*Brad.* True; the time was in England when *the Pope* was away, but not *all popery;* as in King Henry's days.

*Heath.* Latin service was appointed to be sung and had in the choir, where only were clerici, that is, such as understood Latin; the people sitting in the body of the church, praying their own private prayers; and this may yet well be seen by making of the chancel and choir, so as the people could not come in, or hear them.

*Brad.* Yea, but in Chrysostom's time, and also in the Latin Church in St. Jerome's time, all the Church, saith he, *reboat*, Amen; that is, answereth again mightily, Amen. Whereby we may see, that the prayers were made so, that both the people heard them and understood them.

*Day.* Ye are to blame to say that the Church robbeth the people of the cup.

*Brad.* Well, my Lord, term it as it please you; all men know that the laity hath none of it.

*Day.* Indeed I would wish the church would define again, that they might have it, for my part.

*Brad.* If God make it free, who can define to make it bound?

*Heath.* Well, M. Bradford, we lose our labour; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good; your Church no man can know.

*Brad.* Yes, that ye may well.

*Heath.* I pray you whereby?

*Brad.* Forsooth Chrysostom saith, Tantummodo per scripturas, only by the scriptures; and this speaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know.

*Heath.* Indeed that is of Chrysostom in opere imperfecto, which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the Church may be known best, is succession of Bishops.

*Brad.* No, my Lord, Lyra* full well writeth upon Matthew, The Church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power; but in men indued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity. And in Hilary's time, you know he writeth to Aurentius, that the Church was hidden rather in caves and holes, than did glisten and shine in thrones of preeminence.

Then came one of the servants and told them that my Lord of Durham tarried for them at M. York's house; and this was after they had tarried three hours with Bradford. And after their man was come, they put up their written books of common places, and said that they lamented his case. They willed him to read over a book which did Dr. Croome good; and so wishing him good in words, they went their way, and poor Bradford to his prison.

## No. 73.†

## CONFERENCE with TWO SPANISH FRIARS.

On the 25 February, about eight o'clock in the morning, two Spanish Friars came to the Compter, to talk with Bradford, sent, as they said, by the Earl of Derby; of whom the one was the

* Nicholas of Lyra, a converted Jew, so called from the place of his birth, near Evreux in Normandy. His Commentaries on the Bible, and other controversial works against the Jews, are deservedly in high repute.

† Fox iii. 299.

king's confessor, and the other was Alphonsus, who had before written a popish book against heresies.

When Bradford was called, the confessor asked him in Latin, for their talk was in that language, whether he had not seen nor heard of one Alphonsus,* that had written a book against heresies.

*Brad.* I do not know him.

*Con.* Well, this man, pointing to Alphonsus, is he. We are come to you of love and charity, by the means of the Earl of Derby, because you desired to confer with us.

*Brad.* I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But seeing you are come of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you; and as touching conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you, if you will.

*Alph.* It were requisite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of God's spirit, that he would inspire you, so that ye be not addicted to your self, will, or wit.

Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children for ever.

*Alph.* Yea, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace.

*Brad.* Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words, now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God.

*Alph.* You must be, as it were, a neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt; pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain laboureth our tongue to speak else.

*Brad.* Sir, my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that

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* Alphonsus à Castro, a Franciscan Friar, confessor to King Philip, and famous for his treatise *De Hæresibus*. In a sermon preached before his master, he declaimed at large against taking away people's lives for religion; inveighed against the English bishops for doing so; and said that they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught bishops in the spirit of meekness to instruct those that opposed them; and not to burn them for their consciences.—*Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol.* ii. *pt.* i. 477.

for which I am condemned; I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be most certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is his truth, and because it is so certain and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any man; in respect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it.

*Alph.* What is the matter whereof you were condemned? We know not.

*Brad.* Sir, I have been in prison almost two years, I never transgressed any of their laws, wherefore I might justly be imprisoned, and now am I condemned only because I frankly confessed, whereof I repent not, my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points; one, that there is no transubstantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body.

*Alph.* Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?

*Brad.* No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man. As for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe.

*Alph.* I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscriptible.

And here he made much ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place; demanding such questions as no wise man would have spent any time about. At length because the friar had forgotten to conclude, Bradford put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded; how that because Christ's body was circumscriptible, concerning the human nature in heaven, therefore it was so in the bread.

*Brad.* How hangeth this together? Even as if you should say; because you are here, ergo, it must needs follow that you are at Rome; or thus you reason, because Christ's body is in heaven, ergo, it is in the sacrament, under the form of bread; which no wise man will grant.

*Alph.* Why? Will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?

*Brad.* Yes, Sir, I will believe whatsoever you shall, by demonstration out of the Scriptures, declare unto me.

*Alph.* He is obstinate. Is not God able to do it?

*Brad.* Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the faith of the worthy receiver.

*Alph.* To the faith? How is that?

*Brad.* Forsooth, Sir, as I have no tongue to express it, so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it; for faith is more than man can utter.

*Alph.* But I can tell all that I believe.

*Brad.* You believe not much then. For if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receiveable than the mouth; so it conceiveth more than tongue can express.

*Alph.* Christ saith, it is his body.

*Brad.* And so say I, after a certain manner.

*Alph.* After a certain manner? That is, after another manner than it is in heaven?

*Brad.* St. Augustine telleth it more plainly, that it is Christ's body after the same manner, as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith; or to make it more plain, as baptism, and the water of baptism, is regeneration.

*Alph.* Very well said, baptism, and the water thereof, is a sacrament of God's grace and spirit in the water, cleansing the baptized.

*Brad.* No, Sir, away with your enclosing; but this I grant, that after the same sort Christ's body is in the bread, on which sort the grace and spirit of God is in the water.

*Alph.* In water is God's grace by signification.

*Brad.* So is the body in the bread in the sacrament.*

*Alph.* You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the sacraments that be standers, and the sacraments that

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* As grace is in the water of baptism, so is the body in the sacrament. But grace is in the water by signification; ergo, so is the body in the sacrament.—Fox, *in Loco.*

are transitory and passers by. As for example, the sacrament of orders, which you deny, though St. Augustine affirm it, it is a stander, although the ceremony be past; but in baptism, so soon as the body is washed, the water ceaseth to be a sacrament.

*Brad.* Very good, and so it is in the Supper of the Lord; no longer than it is in use, is it Christ's sacrament.

Here was the friar in a wonderful rage, and spake so high, as often he had done before, that the whole house rang again, chafing with *om* and *cho*. He hath a great name of learning, but surely he hath little patience. For if Bradford had been any thing hot, one house could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture, baptism and the Lord's Supper, to bear any similitude together. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that those men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

*Brad.* Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture, I will find baptism and the Lord's Supper coupled together.

*Alph.* No, that canst thou never do; let me see a text of it.

*Brad.* Paul saith;* that as we are baptized into one body; so have we drunk of one spirit, meaning of the cup in the Lord's Supper.

*Alph.* Paul hath no such words.

*Brad.* Yes, that he hath.

*Con.* I trow he hath not.

*Brad.* Give me a Testament, and I will shew you.

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he shewed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the friars found this simple shift, that Paul spake not of the sacrament.

*Brad.* Well, the text is plain enough, and there are of the fathers, who do so understand the place; for Chrysostom doth expound it so.

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf,

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* 1 Cor. xii. 13.

till he came to 1 *Cor.* xi, 29,* where he read, how that he was guilty, who made no difference of the Lord's body.

*Brad.* Yea, but therewith he saith, 1 *Cor.* xi. 28, He that eateth of the bread, calling it bread still, and that after consecration, as ye call it, as in 1 *Cor.* x. 16; The bread which we break, &c.

*Alph.* Oh, how ignorant are ye, who know not that things after their conversion, do retain the same names which they had before, as Moses's rod.

*Brad.* Sir, *there* is mention made of the conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense; but *here* ye cannot find it so. Shew me one word how the bread is converted; and I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you.

*Alph.* You hang on your own sense.

*Brad.* No, that I do not; for I will bring you forth the fathers of the Church, eight hundred years after Christ, to confirm this which I speak.

*Alph.* No, you have the Church against you.

*Brad.* I have not Christ's Church against me.

*Alph.* Yes, that you have. What is the Church?

*Brad.* Christ's wife, the chair and seat of verity?

*Alph.* Is she visible?

*Brad.* Yea, that she is, to them that will put on the spectacles of God's word to look on her.

*Alph.* This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Christ's ascension, even for eight hundred years at the least, continually.

*Brad.* What will you so prove, transubstantiation?

*Alph.* Yea, that the bread is turned into Christ's body.

*Brad.* You speak more than you can do.

*Alph.* That I do not.

*Brad.* Then will I give place.

*Alph.* Will you believe?

*Brad.* Belief is God's gift; therefore cannot I promise; but I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ, my Saviour.

* In all the disputations at this time, it is evident the Vulgate was chiefly referred to by both sides.

Here the Friar found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt *habitus* and *actus;* as though *actus*, which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let pass, and came again, asking Bradford if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place?

*Brad.* Yea, that I will. Then calling for paper, pen and ink; what and if I prove by the testimony of the fathers, that continually for eight hundred years after Christ, at the least, they did believe that the substance of bread doth remain in the sacrament? What will ye do?

*Alph.* I will give place.

*Brad.* Then write you here that you will give place, if I so prove; and I will write that I will give place, if you so prove; because ye are the antient, ye shall have the preeminence.

Here the Friar fumed marvellously, and said, I came not to learn at thee: Are not here witnesses? meaning the priests, Be not they sufficient? But the man was so chafed, that if Bradford had not passed over this matter of writing, the Friar would have fallen to plain scolding.

At the length the King's Confessor asked Bradford, what the second question was.

*Brad.* That wicked men receive not Christ's body in the sacrament, as St. Augustin speaketh of Judas, that he received *panem Domini*, but not *panem Dominum*.

*Alph.* St. Augustin saith not so.

*Brad.* Yes that doth he.

So they arose and talked no more of the matter; but went away, without bidding Bradford farewell.

After they were gone, one of the priests came, and willed Bradford not to be so obstinate.

*Brad.* Sir, be not you so wavering; in all the scriptures cannot you find me, Non est panis.

*Priest.* Yes, that I can in five places.

*Brad.* Then I will eat your book.

So the book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way smiling. God help us.

## No. 74.*

*To a Woman who desired to know his mind, whether she, refraining from the Mass, might be present at the Popish Mattins or no.*

I BESEECH Almighty God, our heavenly Father, to be merciful unto us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth; and at this present give me grace so to write to you something of the same, as may make to his glory, and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

Whether you may come with safe conscience to the Church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, as at mattins or at evensong or no, is your desire to have me to write something, for your further stay. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me, might perchance make you to think, that in respect thereof I would bear with that, which else were not to be born withal; yet by God's grace I am purposed simply, and without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you the truth according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord.

First therefore, go about to learn perfectly, the first lesson to be learned of all that profess Christ, that is to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself. Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next lesson to it, which is to seek God in all things you do and leave undone. Thirdly, know that then you seek God, when in his service you follow his word and not man's fancies, custom, multitude, &c. and when, with your brother, you follow the rule of charity, that is, to do as you would be done by.

In these is a sum of all the council I can give you; if that hereto I admonish you, of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather against God's word, directly and in manner wholly. So that your going to the service is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor never can

* Fox iii. 338. Cov. 401.

learn it so long as you go thither; therefore the second lesson you shall utterly lose, if you cease not the seeking of yourself, that is, if for company, custom, father, or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpose by God's grace, briefly to shew.

First, the mattins and evensong is in a tongue, forbidden publicly to be used in the congregation, that perceiveth not the tongue. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown tongue, to be against God's Commandment. This one, I trow, were enough, if nothing else were; for how can God's glory be sought, where his word and commandment is wilfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown? Again, both in mattins and in evensong, is idolatry maintained for God's service; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints, departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will give to none other.

Moreover, this service and the setters forth of it, condemneth the English service as heresy; thereby falling into God's curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they shall be partakers, that do communicate with them. Besides this, this latin service is a plain mark of antichrist's catholic synagogue; so that the communicants and approvers of it, thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so cut off from Christ and his Church; whose exterior mark is the true administration of God's word and sacraments.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of antichrist, as doubtless you do in deed, howsoever in heart you think; occasioneth the obstinate, to be utterly intractable, the weaker papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sore weakened, and the weaker gospellers to be utterly overthrown; which things, how great offence they be, no pen is able to utter by letters.

All these evils you shall be guilty of, that company with those in religion exteriorly, from whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ, follow him; gather with him, least you scatter abroad: serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Make not your body, now a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Come

out from amongst them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue, yea in very deed, which few gospellers do.

Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny them in the last day; the which day, if it were set before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures of this world be but trifles.

Therefore, good Sister, often have it before your eyes, daily set yourself and your doings, as before the judgment seat of Christ now, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ's lessons well; he that will save his life shall lose it. The Father from heaven commandeth you, to hear Christ, and he saith, follow me; this can you not do and follow idolatry or idolaters.* Fly from such, saith the Scripture. This God grant to you, to me, and to all God's children, Amen. Thus in haste I have accomplished your request, God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so this may be a little mean to do you some good spiritually, Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large. The 2 of March, anno, 1555.

## On the 21st of March one of the Earl of Derby's men came to the Compter with one M. Collier, formerly Warden of Manchester, who informed Bradford that Dr. Weston,† would be with him in the afternoon.

At dinner time, when M. Collier discommended King Edward, and went about to set forth the authority of the Pope, Bradford withstood him, defending the king's faith, that it was catholic, and that the authority of the Bishop of Rome's supremacy was usurped; bringing forth the testimony of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of Supreme Head, to be a title of the former to antichrist.

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* See Appendix, Note (CC.)

† See Appendix, Note (DD.)

Bradford then went to his prison chamber to beg of God grace, and help therein; continuing there until he was called down to speak with M. Weston.

## No. 75.*

## FIRST CONFERENCE WITH Dr. WESTON.

As soon as Bradford entered the hall Dr. Weston very gently took him by the hand, and told him that he had often been minded to come to him, being thereto desired of the Earl of Derby.

*Weston.* After that I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any others; I could not but come to do you good, if I can; for hurt you be sure I will not.

*Brad.* Sir, when I perceived by the report of my Lord's servant, that you did bear me good will; more as he said, than any other of your sort; I told him that, therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say, otherwise I desired not your coming.

*Weston.* Well, now I am come to talk with you; but before we shall enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work. First, I shall desire you to put away all vain-glory, and not hold any thing for the praise of the world.

*Brad.* Sir, St Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of a heretic; which if I cannot put away clean, for I think there will a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth, yet I promise you by the grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God, I hope, will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive there-against, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

* Fox iii. 301.

*Weston.* I am glad to hear you say so, although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do. Secondly, I would desire you, that you will put away singularity in your judgment and opinions.

*Brad.* Sir, God forbid that I should stick to my singularity or private judgment, in God's religion. Hitherto I have not desired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic, understanding catholic as good men do; according to God's word.

*Weston.* Very well, this is a good day's work, I hope to do you good; and therefore now, thirdly, I shall pray you to write me Capita of those things, whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send it to me betwixt this and Wednesday next; until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you; therefore away with all dubitations, &c.

*Brad.* Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it; this which you require of me, shall be no great let to me therein.

*Weston.* You know that St. Augustine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at the length; so have I good hope of you.

*Brad.* Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in the religion, wherefore I am condemned.

*Weston.* Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?

*Brad.* God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth.

*Weston.* I would have you to pray so.

*Brad.* So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it, as I thank God he hath done and doth.

*Weston.* Yea, but pray with a condition, *if you be in it.*

*Brad.* No Sir, I cannot pray so; because I am settled and assured of his truth.

*Weston.* Well, as the learned bishop answered St. Austin's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son; so I hope your prayers* cannot but be

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* Bradford's eyes here shewed that he had wept in prayer.—Fox *in Loco.*

heard of God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please God. Do ye not remember the history thereof?

*Brad.* Yea, Sir, I think it be of St. Ambrose.

*Weston.* No, that it is not. As you are overseen herein, so are you in other things.*

*Brad.* Well, Sir, I will not contend you for the name; this I remember St. Augustine writeth in his confessions.

After this Weston began to tell M. Bradford, how the people were by him procured to withstand the Queen. Whereupon Bradford bad him hang him up as a traitor and a thief, if ever he encouraged any to rebellion; which thing his keeper, and others that were there of the priests, affirmed on his behalf. Dr. Weston declared that he had saved men, going in the cart to be hanged.

The end was this, that Bradford should send unto him, CAPITA DOCTRINÆ, of the Supper; and that after Wednesday, Weston would come to him again, and so departed, after he had drank to him in beer and wine.

I omit here the talk concerning Oxford, of books of German writers, the fear of death, and other matters to no purpose.

According to his promise Bradford wrote out his reasons and arguments against transubstantiation, and sent them to Dr. Weston, as follow:—

## No. 76.†

## CERTAIN REASONS AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION,

*Gathered by John Bradford, and given to Dr. Weston and Others.*

First. That which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a

* Unfortunately however for the argument of the Prolocutor, our martyr was not overseen, and proved himself to be better read than his opponent.—*Du Pin, tom.* iii. *p.* 159.—*Dr. Adam Clarke on Rom.* xiii. 14.

† Fox iii. 303.

late doctrine, for it was not defined generally afore the Council of Lateran, about one thousand two hundred and fifteen years after Christ's coming, under Pope Innocent III.* For before that time it was free for all men to believe it or not believe it, as the Bishop of Durham doth witness, in his book of the Presence of Christ in his Supper, lately put forth, *ergo*, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

Second. That the words of Christ's Supper be figurative, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers, which were and did write for the space of one thousand years after Christ's ascension, do teach. Whereupon it followeth that there is no transubstantiation.

Third. That the Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body, the Scriptures do witness. For he gave that and called it his body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks, which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, BREAD; as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue which are of antiquity do affirm: but inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appears that there is no transubstantiation.

Fourth. The bread is no more transubstantiate than the wine; but that the wine is not transubstantiate, Saint Matthew and Saint Mark do teach us; for they witness that Christ said, That he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood but wine; and therefore it followeth that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom upon Matthew, and Saint Cyprian do affirm this reason.

Fifth. As the bread in the Lord's Supper is Christ's natural body, so it is his mystical body; for the same spirit that spake of it, This is my body, did say also, For we many are one bread, one body, &c.; but now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

Sixth. The words spoken over the cup in Saint Luke and Paul, are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it. For then it, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiate into the New

* See Gilly's second visit to the Vaudois of Piedmont, *p.* 41.

Testament; therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

Seventh. All that doctrine which agreeth with those Churches which be apostolic, mother Churches, or original Churches, is to be counted for truth; in that it holdeth that which these Churches received of the apostles, the apostles of Christ, Christ of God. But it is manifest that the doctrine, taught at this present of the Church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the apostolic and mother Churches in Greece, of Corinthus, of Philippos, Colossia, Thessalonica, Ephesus, which never taught transubstantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Church of Rome, taught in times past. For Gelasius, the Pope, setting forth the doctrine which that See did then hold; doth manifestly confute the error of transubstantiation, and reproveth them of sacrilege which divide the mystery, and keep from the laity the cup; therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeth not with the truth.

About the 28th of March, Dr. Pendleton came to Bradford, together with the same M. Collier, and Stephen Bech.

## No. 77.*

## CONFERENCE WITH Dr. PENDLETON.

*Pend.* *(After expressing sorrow for Bradford's trouble.)* After that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do you good, and pleasure you what I can, as ye would wish.

*Brad.* Sir, the manner how I was content to speak with you, was on this sort. M. Bech was often in hand with me whom he should bring unto me, and named you among others; and I said that I had rather speak with you than with any of all the others. Now the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that

* Fox iii. 302.

once you were, as far as a man might judge, of the religion that I am of at this present, and I remember that you have set forth the same earnestly. Gladly therefore would I learn of you, what thing it was, that moved your conscience to alter; and gladly would I see what thing it is that you have seen since, which you saw not before.

*Pend.* M. Bradford, I do not know wherefore you are condemned?

*Brad.* Transubstantiation is the cause wherefore I am condemned, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body; wherein I would desire you to shew me what reasons, which before you knew not, did move your conscience now to alter; for *once*, as I said, you were as I am in religion.

*Pend.* I never fully denied transubstantiation, although I said that the word was not in Scripture; I will gather to you the places which moved me, and send you them.

Here he desired that he might have a copy of that which Bradford had sent to Dr. Weston; and which Bradford promised to send him.

Some reasoning also they had, whether evil men did receive Christ's body, Bradford denying, and Pendleton affirming. Bradford said that they received not the spirit; ergo, not the body; for it is no dead carcase. Hereto Bradford brought also St. Augustine, how Judas received panem Domini, and not panem Dominum; and how that he must be in Christ's body, who must receive the body of Christ. But Pendleton went about to put it away with *idem*, and not *ad idem*, and how that *in corpore Christi*, was to be understood of all that be in the visible Church, with God's elect. Bradford denied this to be St. Augustine's meaning, and said also that the allegation of *idem* and not *ad idem*, could not make for that purpose.

Pendleton having brought forth Cyprian; Panis natura mutatur, etc., Bradford said, that in that place, *natura*, did not signify substance. As the nature of an herb is not the substance of it; so the bread *changed in nature* is not to be taken for *changed in substance;* for now it is ordained, not for the food of the body simply, but rather for the soul. Here also Bradford alleged the sentence of Gelasius; whereupon Pendleton said that

he was a Pope. Yea, said Bradford, but his faith is my faith in the sacrament, if ye would receive it.

They reasoned also, whether *accidentia* were *res* or no. If they be properly, *res*, said Bradford, then are they substances; and if they be substances, they are earthly; and then are there earthly substances in the sacrament, as Irenæus saith, which must needs be bread. But Pendleton said that the colour was the earthly thing, and called it an accidental substance.

I omit the talk they had of my Lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyr's book, of Pendleton's letter,* laid to Bradford's charge when he was condemned; also whether *Dic Ecclesiæ* was spoken of the Universal Church, or of a particular, which Pendleton at length granted to be spoken of a particular Church, also of vain-glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of, and such like.

A little before his departure, Bradford said thus; M. Doctor, as I said to M. Weston the last day, so say I unto you again; that I am the same man in religion against transubstantiation still, which I was when I came into prison; for hitherto I have seen nothing in any point to infirm me.

At these words, Pendleton said that it was no catholic doctrine. Yes, said Bradford, and that will I prove, even by the testimony of the catholic fathers, until the Council of Lateran, or thereabouts. Thus Pendleton went his way, saying that he would come oftener to Bradford.

God, our Father, be with us all, and give us the spirit of his truth for ever, Amen.

In the afternoon of the same day, Dr. Weston came again to Bradford; and after desiring they should be left alone; pulled out of his bosom the same writing (No. 76.) which Bradford had sent to him. Before he began to read it he showed Bradford, that since their last

* He was parson of St. Stephen's Walbrook, a great professor of religion in the reign of Edward VI., but recanted in that of Mary.—*Strype Eccl. Mem.* iii. 2. 18.—It is more than probable that he betrayed Bradford.—*See pp.* 180. 218.

conference, he had inquired concerning his manner of conversation whilst at Cambridge.

## No. 78.*

## THE SECOND CONFERENCE WITH DR. WESTON.

*Weston.* M. Bradford, because you are a man, not given to the glory of the world, I will speak it before your face, *your life I have learned was such there always, as all men, even the greatest enemies you have, cannot but praise it;* and therefore I love you much better than ever I did; but now I will read over your arguments, and so we will confer them. *Such they are, that a man may well perceive you stand on conscience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you.* As to the first; though the word transubstantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been since Christ's institution.

*Brad.* I do not contend or hang upon the word only, but upon the thing, which is as new as the word.

*Weston.* As to the second, St. Augustine asserts that if an evil man, going to the devil, makes his will, his son and heir would not say his father did lie in it, or speak tropically; much more Christ, going to God, did never lie or use any figurative speech in his last will and testament. Do you not remember this place of St. Augustine?

*Brad.* Yea, Sir, but I remember not that St. Augustine hath those words, *tropical* or *figurative*, as you rehearse them; for any man may speak a thing figuratively, and not lie; and so Christ did in his last Supper.

*Weston.* The passage in Cyprian shews that the nature of

* Fox iii. 303.

bread is turned into flesh. Here my Lord of Canterbury expoundeth nature for quality, by Gelasius. The which interpretation serveth for the answer of your argument, that Christ called bread his body; that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further, the Scripture is wont to call things by the same names which they had before, as Simon the leper;* he was not so presently, but because he had been so.

*Brad.* Cyprian wrote before Gelasius; therefore Cyprian must not expound Gelasius, but Gelasius Cyprian; and so they both teach, that bread remaineth still. As for things having still the names they had, is no answer, except you could shew that this now were not bread, as easily as a man might have then known and seen Simon to have been healed, and clear from his leprosy.

After this, Weston went to the fourth, concerning the cup, the which he did not fully read; but digressed into a long talk of Cyprian's Epistle de Aquatiis; also of St. Augustine, expounding the breaking of bread by Christ, to his two disciples going to Emmaus, to be the sacrament, with such other talk to no certain purpose; and therefore Bradford prayed him, that inasmuch as he had written the reasons that stablished his faith against transubstantiation, so he would likewise do to him, that is, answer him by writing, and shew him more reasons in writing to confirm transubstantiation. Which Dr. Weston promised to do, and said that he would send or bring it to M. Bradford again, within three days.

Thus when he had read over the arguments, and here and there spoken little to the purpose for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him in writing his answers; then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or slander he should suffer, meaning belike to have Bradford secretly to come to them, as Grimoald† did; for he subscribed.

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* Simon, though he were called the leper, yet he was seen to be no leper. But bread is seen still to be bread; and therefore hath his name not of that it was, but of that it is.—Fox *in Loco.*

† See Appendix, page xlix.

*Brad.* M. Dean, I would not gladly that you should conceive of me, that I pass of shame of men simply in this matter; I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not seen, nor heard any thing, to weaken* my faith against transubstantiation, so I am no less settled in it, than I was at my first coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the first, as you shall find at the last.

*Weston.* In good faith, M. Bradford, I love you the better for your plainness; and do not think otherwise of me, but that you shall find me plain in all my talk with you.

Here Weston began to ask Bradford of his imprisonment and condemnation; and so Bradford told him altogether, how he had been handled. Whereat Weston seemed to wonder, yea in plain words he said, that Bradford had been handled otherwise than he had given cause, and so shewed Bradford how that my Lord of Bath† reported, that he had deserved a benefit at the Queen's hand, and that of all the Council.

In this kind of talk they spent an hour almost, and so, as one weary, Bradford rose up, and Weston called to the keeper; and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and said that he was out of all peril of death.

*Keeper.* Sir, but it is in every man's mouth that he shall die to-morrow.

*Weston.* *(Apparently half amazed.)* I will go say evensong before the Queen, and speak to her in his behalf.

But it is to be thought, that the Queen had already supped at that present; for it was past six of the clock.

Before the keeper, Bradford told Weston again, that he still was one man, and even as he was at the first; and till he should see matter to teach his conscience the contrary, he said he must needs so continue. The keeper desired Bradford to hearken to M. Doctor's counsel, and prayed M. Doctor to be good unto him; and so after they had drunk together, M. Doctor, with most gentle words, took his leave for three days.

Now when he was gone, the keeper told Bradford, that

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* Infirm. † Bourne, whose life he had saved.—See p. 179.

M. Doctor spake openly, how that he saw no cause, why they should burn him. Which sentence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat sorry, lest he had behaved himself in any thing, wherein Weston had gathered any conformableness to them in their doctrine, which God knoweth, saith Bradford, I never as yet did. God, our Father, bless us, as his children, and keep us from all evil, for ever, Amen.

It is worthy of admiration, how this truly excellent person kept himself constantly occupied in his master's service. Daily and almost hourly assailed by open enemies, or misguided, if not pretended,* friends; harassed and teased, although not perplexed, by their wily arguments and crafty suggestions; the certainty of a painful and lingering death constantly in his view; and what was worse than death itself, the suspense in which his fiend-like tormentors kept him; for it would seem that he never went to rest, but under the probable apprehension, that his slumbers would be broken, by the jailor summoning him to the stake. Yet amidst all this, and much more perhaps that has not come down to us; we find this holy martyr, occupying the intermediate moments in writing letters in every direction, where he thought his advice or example might be useful. And so calm and collected was his mind, that

* Matth. xxiii. 15.

no impatience, or hardly an angry or railing expression escapes him, throughout the whole correspondence. Well might his grand persecutor Gardiner say, that 'Bradford had written letters whilst in prison, to no little hurt of the Queen's people.'* Amongst others written at this time were the following:—

## No. 79.†

*An admonition to certain professors and lovers of the Gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in consenting to the Romish religion, by the example of the shrinking, halting, and double-faced gospellers.*

The peace of Christ, which is the true effect of God's Gospel believed, my dearly beloved, be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit, our Comforter, Amen.

Though I have many lets presently, to hinder me from writing unto you; yet being desired, I could not but something signify my ready good will in this behalf, so much as I may, when I cannot so much as I would. You hear and see how satan bestirreth him, raging as a roaring lion to devour us. You see and feel partly what storms he hath raised up, to drown the poor boat of Christ, I mean his Church. You see how terribly he traineth his soldiers to give a fierce onset on the vanguard‡ of God's battle. You see how he hath received power of God, to molest God's children, and to begin at his house.

By reason whereof consider two things; one, the cause on our behalf; the other, what will be the sequel on strangers. For the first, if we be not blind, we cannot but well see, that our sins are the

* See page 165. † Fox iii. 335. Cov. 379. ‡ Voward.

cause of all this misery; our sins, I say, which I would that every one of us would apply to ourselves, after the example of Jonas and David; turning over the wallet, that other men's offences might lie behind, and our own before.

Not that I would excuse other men, who exteriorly have walked much more grossly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you all as myself, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increase, to know and lament our doubting of God, of his presence, power, anger, mercy, &c. Let us better feel and hate our self-love, security, negligence, unthankfulness, unbelief, impatience, &c. and then doubtless the cross shall be less fearful, yea it shall be comfortable, and Christ most dear and pleasant. Death then shall be desired, as the dispatcher of us out of all misery, and entrance into eternal felicity and joy unspeakable; the which is so much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the serpent's bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels, that is, our outward Adam and senses.

If we had, I say, a lively and true feeling of his poison, we could not but, as rejoice over our Captain that hath bruised his head, so be desirous to follow his example, that is, to give our lives with him and for him; and so to fill up his passion, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory, and comfort of his children.

Now the second, I mean the sequel, or that which will follow, on the strangers, my dearly beloved; let us well look upon. For if so be, that God justly do thus give to satan and his seed, to vex and molest Christ and his penitent people; oh, what and how justly may he and will he give to satan, to entreat the reckless and impenitent sinners? If judgment begin thus at God's house, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reserved the dross of God's cup, that is, brimstone, fire, and tempest intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of God's cup of affliction, which he offereth common with his Son Christ our Lord, lest they should lose their pigs, with the Girgesites. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, let us cast his yoke from us; they walk two ways, that is, they seek to serve God and mammon, which is impossible.

They will not come nigh the strait way that bringeth to life; they open their eyes to behold present things only; they judge of religion after reason, and not after God's word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they profess God with their mouths, but in their hearts they deny him, or else they would sanctify him, by serving him more than men. They part stake with God, who would have all, giving part to the world, to the Romish rout, and antichristian idolatry, now set abroad amongst us publicly. They will have Christ, but none of his cross, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Christ, but yet they will suffer no persecution; they love this world, wherethrough the love of God is driven forth of them; they savour of those things that be of men, and not that be of God. Summa, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea and in their deeds, deny him; as well by not repenting their evils past, as by continuing in evil still; by doing as the world, the flesh, and the devil willeth, and yet still perchance they will pray, or rather prate, *Thy will be done in earth*, which is generally, that every one should take up his cross, and follow Christ.

But this is a hard saying, Who is able to abide it? Therefore Christ must be prayed to depart, lest all their pigs be drowned. The devil shall have his dwelling again in themselves, rather than in their pigs; and therefore to the devil shall they go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and damnation, even in hell fire, and torment endless, and above all cogitations incomprehensible, if they repent not.

Wherefore, by them, my dearly beloved, be admonished to remember your profession, how that in baptism you made a solemn vow to renounce the devil, the world, &c. You promised to fight under Christ's standard. You learned Christ's cross, afore you began with A. B. C. Go to then, pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men and valiant men under Christ's standard; take up your cross and follow your Master, as your brethren, M. Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders have done; and as now your brethren, M. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Hawkes, &c. be ready to do.

The ice is broken before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no cause to waver or doubt

of the doctrine, thus declared by the blood of the pastors. Remember that Christ saith, He that will save his life shall lose it. And what should it profit you to win the whole world, much less a little quietness, &c., your goods, &c., and to lose your own souls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christ's disciples *must* deny themselves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wisdom. Have in mind, that as it is no small mercy to believe in the Lord, so it is no small kindness of God towards you, to suffer any thing, much more death, for the Lord. If they be blessed that die in the Lord, how shall they be that die for the Lord.

Oh, what a blessing is it to have death due for our sins, diverted into a demonstration and testification of the Lord's truth. Oh, that we had a little of Moses' faith, to look upon the end of the cross, to look upon the reward, to see continually with Christ and his people, greater riches than the riches of Egypt. Oh, let us pray that God would open our eyes to see his hidden manna, the heavenly Jerusalem, the congregation of the first-born, the melody of the saints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men; then should we run and become violent men, and so take the kingdom of heaven, as it were, by force. God, our Father, give us for his Christ's sake, to see a little what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and most assuredly giveth us, for his own goodness and truth's sake, Amen.

My dearly beloved, repent, be sober, and watch in prayer; be obedient, and, after your vocations, shew your obedience to the higher powers, in all things that are not against God's word, therein acknowledge the sovereign power of the Lord; howbeit so that ye be no rebels, or rebellers, for no cause; but because with good conscience you cannot obey, be patient sufferers, and the glory and good spirit of God shall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us, your afflicted brethren, being in the Lord's bonds for the testimony of Christ, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and most merciful father. The Lord for Christ's sake, give us merry hearts, to drink lustily of his sweet cup, which daily we groan and sigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord

Jesus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his most gracious good will, Amen, Amen.

From the compter in the Poultry,

Your's in Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 80.*

## TO HIS GOOD BROTHER, R. COLE.

Mine own good brother, our good and most merciful Father, more and more embrace us, in the arms of his mercy, as his loving and own natural children; and give us, one to embrace another, in the arms of love as true brethren; that with one heart and mind, we may praise his holy name, in Christ our Saviour; and through the grace of his spirit, may mightily, every one, fight against sin, and all that is against the kingdom of Christ. Whereto, my beloved, we are called effectually to our everlasting felicity, I doubt not, praised be the name of our good God therefore, for ever and ever, Amen.

Mine own heart in the Lord, desire our brethren, that every one would bend himself to bow; let us never break. Love suffereth long, and seeketh not herself. We have all one father, we are all brethren, God keep us from dissention. *If we cannot agree in all points, either the points perchance be not so necessary, or else by love we shall hereafter be brought to see that which yet is hid.* If love may appear in all our doings, and that we seek one another with a simple and a single eye in God's sight, doubtless all prejudice whereby we are letted to see manifest things, will be had away, and we shall take things spoken and done in the best part; and so doubtless the name of our father shall be sanctified in us and by us, as by instruments of grace, and God's kingdom shall increase apace in us and by us also, which thing may he grant, for his mercy's sake, Amen.

* Cov. 411.

Commend me heartily, I pray you, to both those good women. Good I call them, because I am persuaded that God will deliver them, especially my good Mary. I will not cease, but even as for myself, to pray to God for them, and for you, my right dear brother in the Lord. If you were acquainted with M. Robert Harrington, you should find a plain Nathaniel, you should see the worst at the first; I dare say for him, his only desire is to please God, and he is afraid to offend. Pray for him, and for my good sister J. H. as I know she doth for you. The peace of God be with you mine own in the Lord.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 81.*

*To a Faithful Friend of his, whom for his godly simplicity and singleness of heart in the ways of the Lord, he called Nathaniel;† and to his Wife.*

The merciful God, and Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who loveth us as a most dear father, and hath put upon him towards us, the affections of a most tender mother towards her children; so that he can no less think upon us, although of ourselves we are most unworthy, and deserve nothing less, than she can think on her only begotten child in his distress; yea, if she should forget her child, as some unnatural mothers will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he seem to sleep, that we might be occasioned to call loud and awake him. This good God keep you, my dear brother Nathaniel,‡ and your good yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved sister in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory and your eternal comfort; and also of his goodness

* Fox iii. 346. Cov. 414. † M. Robert Harrington, see the last letter.

‡ Note that Nathaniel was not his proper name, but he was so called from his unfeigned simplicity and truth.—Fox.

he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in store for you both, far passing the store and provision, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I trust already he hath wrought it in you; but I beseech him to encrease it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the same. The which once felt and had indeed, then the means by the which we come thereto, cannot be so greatly dreaded, as most men do dread them; because either they want this feeling, I mean it, of altogether, or else because the sense of this present time and things therein, are as a mist to the hiding of those things from our sight, lest we should run and embrace them by hearty prayer; the spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we should attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

As for auricular confession, wherein you desire my advice for your good yoke-fellow and family, my most dear brother, I am as ready to give it as you to desire it; yea more glad, forasmuch as half a suspicion was in me, at the least touching my dear sister your wife, of a loathing of my advice, that too much had been given; where indeed I should lament my too little feeding you spiritually, as both you out of prison, and in prison, have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, so I yet think, that she is the child of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time, to her eternal comfort, give her her heart's desire in sure feeling, and sensible believing of this, which I would she had often in her mind; namely, that he is her God and Father, through Christ Jesus, our dear Lord and Saviour.

A greater service to God, she cannot give than to believe this. If satan say she believeth not, to answer, not him but the Lord, and to say, Yea, Lord, help my unbelief, and increase my poor faith, which satan saith is no faith; make him a liar, Lord, as always he hath been, is, and shall be. Undoubtedly, sooner or later, God will graciously hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his bottle, yea write them in his counting books; for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleasure in the death of his creature. He loveth mercy, he will return and shew her his mercy; he will cast all her sins and iniquities unto the bottom of the sea; and the longer that he tarrieth,

as he doth it but to prove her, so the more liberally will he recompense her long looking, which no less pleased him, than it grieveth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof, God useth this cross, and therefore if she desire to bear the same, doubtless God will make her able to bear it; and in presumption of his goodness and strength, let her cast herself wholly upon him; for he is faithful, and will assuredly confirm and bring to a happy end, that good which graciously he hath begun in her. The which thing I desire him to do for his own glory, and name's sake, Amen, Amen.

And now to the matter, confession auricular, as it was first used and instituted, which was by the way of a counsel-asking; I take to be amongst those traditions which are indifferent, that is, neither unlawful, nor necessarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to consider it, as it is now used, I write to you but as I think, and what my mind is; the which follow no further than good men, by God's word, do allow it; to consider it, I say, as it is now used, methinks it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for these causes.

*First*, because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleaseth God of itself, I will not say meritorious. This bringer my brother, can tell you at large, how great an evil this is.

*Secondly*, because they make it of necessity, so that he or she that useth it not, is not taken for a good christian.

*Thirdly*, because it requireth of itself an impossibility, that is, the numbering and telling of all our sins, which no man perceiveth, much less can utter.

*Fourthly*, because it establisheth and confirmeth, at the least alloweth, praying to saints; *precor sanctam Mariam*, you must say, or the priest for you.

*Fifthly*, because it is very injurious to the liberty of the Gospel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work, and dear in God's sight.

*Sixthly*, because, as it is used, it is a note, yea, a very sinew of the Popish Church; and therefore we should be so far from allowing the same, that we should think ourselves happy to lose any thing, in bearing witness thereagainst.

*Seventhly*, because instead of counsel, thereat you should receive poison, or if you refuse it under Sir John's benedicite, you should no less there be wound in the briars.

*Eighthly*, because the end and purpose why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the cross, that is, for our own cause; and not for Christ's cause, or for our brethren's commodity.

For in that they make it so necessary a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ, and the freedom of his Gospel; and the same thing teacheth us, that it is against the commodity of our brethren, which either be weak, either be strong, either be ignorant, either be obstinate. If they be weak, by your resorting to it, they be made more weak; if they be strong, you do what you can to weaken their strength; if they be ignorant, therein you help to keep them by your fact; if they be obstinate, your resorting to it, cannot but rock them asleep in their obstinate error, of the necessity of this rite and ceremony.

These causes recited do shew you what I think in this; but my thinking must no further bind you than a man's thought should do, except the same be grounded upon God's word, which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you, weighing these causes, and especially two of the first and the last; if you pray to God for his spirit to direct you, and thereto ask the advice of this my good brother, and other godly learned men; I doubt not, I say, but you should be guided to do that which is best in God's sight; although in the sight of the world, perhaps, you should be counted foolish and precise.

But be at a point with yourselves, as the disciples of Christ, who had forsaken themselves, to follow not your will, but God's will, as you daily pray in the Lord's Prayer. The cross of Christ be willing to carry, lest you carry the cross of the world, the flesh, or the devil. One of these four crosses you must carry, three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is the broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heaven, but few go that way, as well because the way is strait, as also because few walk in it. Howbeit, though it be strait, it is but short, and the few are many, if you consider the godly, as the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and Christ Jesus, with all his guard

and train. Think not scorn to come after them, who are gone before you; and after them who now go before you; in whose number, I trust, I am appointed to be one, and I beseech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour.

Our sins deserve plagues, prison, and the loss of all that ever we have; therefore if God remove our sins out of sight, and send us prison, or loss of goods and living, for his name's sake, oh, how happy are we! My dear hearts in the Lord, consider this gear, and be assured that he who loseth any thing for Christ's sake, the same in his posterity shall find it here, and in heaven elsewhere.

As for unableness to answer for your faith; it shall be enough to desire them to dispute with your teachers. Faith standeth not in disputing: I think few, if it came to disputing, could defend the Godhead of Christ, and many other articles; I speak it for the simple sort. Pray for me. Lack of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother, Richard Bleacher, and my good sister, his wife; I pray them to pray for me. I trust by this bearer to hear how you do.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 82.*

## ANOTHER LETTER TO N. AND HIS WIFE.

God's mercy in Christ I wish you to feel, my dear brother, with my faithful sister your wife, now and for ever, Amen.

Having this occasion, I could not but write something, as well to put myself in remembrance of my duty to Godwards for you both, in thankfulness and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare

* Fox iii. 347.

not say in thankfulness for me. Not that I would have you to give no thanks to God, for his wonderful great and sweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Christ his Son; but because I have not deserved it, at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at least my conscience doth accuse me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you, as both my vocation and your deserts required—to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your salvation; that is in the fear of God to give yourselves to great vigilance in prayer, for the increase of faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conversation, not only in works and words, but also in thoughts; because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart that cometh which defileth us in God's sight;—I have, I say, not only not done this, but also have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, fasting, talking and doing; so that woe to me for giving such offence.

Partly for this cause, dear brother and sister, God hath cast me here that I might repent me and turn to him; and that ye might also by his correction upon me, be more diligent to redress these things and others, if they in your conscience do accuse you.

My dearly beloved, heavy is God's anger fallen upon us all; doleful is this day. Now hath antichrist all his power again. Now is Christ's gospel trodden under foot. Now is God's people a derision and prey for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of all plagues fallen; the want of God's word; and all these we have, yea, I alone have, justly deserved. Oh that as I write, I alone, I could with David, 1 *Chron.* xxi. and with Jonah, in heart say so. But I do not, I do not, I see not how grievously I have sinned, and how great a misery is fallen, for mine unthankfulness for God's word, for mine hypocrisy in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of God's word; for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not loving of it thoroughly, as it requireth, &c. I will speak nothing of my manifest evils, for they are known to you well enough.

Dear brother and sister; with me say ye the like for your own parts, and with me join your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Christ's sake beseech him to be merciful unto us, and to pardon us. Oh, good Father, it is we that have deserved

these thy just plagues fallen upon us, we have done amiss, we have dealt unjustly with thy gospel, we have procured thy wrath, and therefore just art thou in punishing us, just art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miserable. But good Lord, and dear Father of mercy, whose justice is such that thou wilt not punish the poor souls of this realm, who yet have not thus sinned against thee, as we have done, for many never yet heard thy word, for our trepasses; and whose mercy is so great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Christ's sake, if we repent and believe; grant us, we beseech thee, true repentance, and faith, that we having obtained pardon for our sins, may, through thy Christ, get deliverance from the tyranny of antichrist, now oppressing us.

Oh, good Father, who hast said, that the sceptre of the wicked should not long lie upon and over the just; lest they put forth their hands to iniquity also; make us just, we pray thee in Christ's name, and cut asunder the cords of them that hate Sion; let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? Thou, our God, art in heaven; and doest whatsoever it pleaseth thee upon earth.

Oh, that thou wouldest, in the mean whiles, before thou do deliver us; that, I say, thou wouldest open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, and all other that shall come, whatsoever they be, public or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand, and that justly and necessarily. Justly, because we have and do deserve them; not only by our birth poison, still sticking and working in us; but also by our former evil life past, which by this punishment and all other punishments, thou wouldest have us to call to our remembrance, and to set before us, that thou mightest put them from before thee; whereas they stand, so long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance.

Mercifully, O Lord God, dost thou punish, in that thou dost not correct to kill, but to amend; that we might repent our sins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Christ, and begin to suffer for righteousness sake; to be part of thy house, whereat thy judgment beginneth; to be partakers of the afflictions of thy Church, and thy Christ, that we might be partakers of the glory of the same; to weep here, that we might rejoice elsewhere; to be judged in this world, that we might

with thy saints judge hereafter the world; to suffer with Christ, that we might reign with him; to be like to Christ in shame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might, with poor Lazarus, find rest elsewhere; rest, I say, and such a rest as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive.

Oh, that our eyes were open to see this, that the cross cometh from thee to declare thy justice, and thy mercy; and hereto, that we might see how short a time the time of suffering is; how long a time the time of rejoicing is, to them that suffer here; but to them that will not, how long and miserable a time is appointed and prepared; a time without time, in eternal woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon.

From the which, keep us dear Father, and give more sight in soul to see this gear, and how that all thy dearest children have carried the cross of grievous affliction in this life; in whose company do thou place us, and such a cross lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our salvation in Christ; for whose sake, we pray thee to shorten the days of this our great misery, fallen upon us most justly, and in the mean season, give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal consolation, Amen, Amen, Amen.

And thus, dear hearts, I have talked, methinks, a little while with you, or rather, we have all talked with God. Oh, that God would give us his spirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloved, pray for it, as for yourselves, so for me; and that God would vouchsafe, to make me worthy to suffer with a good conscience for his name's sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you. This 20 of December, by him whom by this bringer, ye shall learn. I pray you give my commendations, to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Christ, for one day in heaven, we shall meet and rejoice together for evermore, Amen.

## No. 83.*

## TO M. JOHN HALL, AND HIS WIFE,

*Prisoners in Newgate, for the testimony of the Gospel.*

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dearly beloved, as with his dear children for ever: and may he so bless you with his holy spirit, that you may in this your cross, for his cause doubtless, rejoice, and gladly take it up to bear it so long as he shall think good.

I have heard, my good brother and sister, how that God hath brought you both into his school-house, whereas you were both purposed, by his leave, to have played the truant,† that thereby you might see his carefulness and love towards you. For if it be a token of a loving and careful father for his children, to prevent the purpose and disappoint the intent of his children, purposing to depart awhile from the school, for fear of beating; which thing they would not do, if they did as much consider the commodity of learning, which there they might get; how should you take this work of the Lord, preventing your purpose, but as an evident sign of love and fatherly carefulness, that he beareth towards you?

If he should have winked at your wills, then would you have escaped beating, I mean the cross; but then should you have lost the commodity of learning, which your father will now have you to bear and feel, and therefore hath he sent to you his cross. HE, I say, hath brought you where you be; and though your reason and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwise; yet, my dearly beloved, know for certain, that whatsoever was the mean, God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your welfare, although otherwise your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel;—yet, I say, of truth, that your duty is, to think of this cross, that as it is of God's sending, and cometh from him; so although your deserts be otherwise, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal, and commodity's sake.

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* Fox iii. 336. Cov. 374. † Trewands.

What commodity is hereby, you will perchance object? You are now kept in close prison, you will say; your family and children be without good overseers; your substance diminisheth by those means; poverty will approach, and perchance more perils also, as loss of life, &c. These are no commodities, but discommodities, and that no small ones; so that justly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this cross, whereby cometh so great discommodities.

To these things I answer, that indeed it is true you say of your bodies, families, children, substance, poverty, life, &c.; which things, if you would consider awhile with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward, then perhaps you should find more ease. Do not you now, by the inward sense, perceive that you must part from all these, and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, Have not you this commodity by your cross, to learn to loath and leave the world, and to long for and desire another world, where is perpetuity?

You ought of your own head, and free will, to have, according to your profession in baptism, forsaken the world and all earthly things; using the world as though you used it not, your heart only set upon your hoard in heaven, or else you could never be Christ's true disciples, that is, be saved and be where he is. And trow you, my good hearts in the Lord, trow you, I say, that it is no commodity, by this cross to be compelled hereto, that you might assuredly enjoy with the Lord, endless glory? How now doth God, as it were, fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning these things, and all other things, that repentance and remission might ensue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earnest in prayer? Are these no commodities? Doth not the Scripture say, that God doth correct us in the world, because we shall not be damned with the world? That God chasteneth every one whom he loveth? That the end of this correction shall be joy and holiness? Doth not the Scripture say, that they are happy that suffer for righteousness' sake, as you now do? That the glory and spirit of God is upon them? That as you are now made like unto Christ in suffering, so you shall be made like to him in reigning? Doth not the Scripture say that you are

now going the high and right way to heaven? That your suffering is Christ's suffering? My dearly beloved, what greater commodities than these can a godly heart desire?

Therefore ye are commanded to rejoice and be glad when ye suffer, as now ye do; for through the goodness of God, great shall be your reward. Where? Forsooth on earth, first for your children; for now they are in God's mere and immediate protection. Never was father so careful for his children, as God is for yours presently. God's blessing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them should be pulled away, yet God is not poor; he hath promised to provide for them most fatherly. Cast thy burthen upon me, saith he, and I will bear it. Do you therefore cast them and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never yet was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread; for he will shew mercy upon thousands, of the posterity of them that fear him.

Therefore, as I said, God's reward first upon earth shall be felt by your children, even corporally, and so also upon you, if God see it more for your commodity; at the least inwardly you shall feel it by quietness and comfort of conscience; and secondly after this life, you shall find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive, how great and glorious God's reward will be, upon your bodies, much more upon your souls.

God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed; then shall we think the cross, which is a mean hereto, to be commodious. Then shall we thank God that he would chastise us. Then shall we say with David, Happy am I that thou hast punished me, for before I went astray, but now I keep thy laws. This that we may do indeed, my dearly beloved, let us first know that our cross cometh from God. Secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore let us, thirdly, call to mind our sins, and ask pardon. Whereto let us, fourthly, look for help certainly at God's hand in his good time; help, I say, such as shall make most to God's glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our souls and bodies eternally.

This, if we certainly conceive, then will there issue out of us hearty thanksgiving, which God requireth as a most precious sacrifice. That we may all, through Christ, offer this, let us use earnest prayer to our God and dear Father, who bless us, keep us, and comfort us, under his sweet cross for ever, Amen, Amen.*

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you should be sure thereof, though my life lay thereon, but now I must do as I may, because I cannot as I would. Oh, that it would please our dear Father, shortly to bring us where we should never depart; but enjoy continually the blessed fruition of his heavenly presence; pray, pray, that it may speedily come to pass, pray. To-morrow I will send unto you to know your estate, send me word what are the chiefest things they charge you withal. From the Compter.

By your brother in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 84.†

## TO MRS. HALL,

*Prisoner in Newgate, and ready to make answer before her adversaries.*

Our most merciful God and Father, through Christ Jesus, our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end, Amen.

My dear sister, rejoice in the Lord, rejoice, be glad, I say, be merry and thankful; not only because Christ so commandeth us, but also because our state, wherein we are presently, requireth no less, for we are the Lord's witnesses. God the Father hath vouchsafed to choose us, amongst many, to witness and testify, that Christ his Son is King, and that his word is true.

* See an admirable sermon on this subject, from *Deut.* xxxii. 10. 11. 12. by the Rev. Chs. Bradley, of Glasbury, *vol.* i. 196.

† Fox iii. 337. Cov. 377.

Christ, our Saviour, for his love's sake towards us, will have us to bear record, that he is no usurper, nor deceiver of the people, but God's ambassador, prophet, and Messiah; so that of all dignities upon earth, this is the highest. Greater honour had not his prophets, apostles, nor dearest friends; than to bear witness with Christ, as we now do. The world following the counsel of their sire, satan, would gladly condemn Christ, and his verity; but lo, the Lord hath chosen us to be his champions to let this.

As stout soldiers therefore, let us stand to our Master, who is with us, and standeth on our right hand, that we shall not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercy; he is so faithful and true, that he will never tempt us, further than he will make us able to bear. Therefore, be not careful, for I hear say this day you shall be called forth, what you shall answer. The Lord, who is true, and cannot lie, hath promised, and will never fail, nor forget it; that you shall have both what and how to answer, so as shall make his shameless adversaries ashamed. Hang therefore on this promise of God, who is a helper at a pinch, and a most present remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it heard of, nor shall be, that any hoping in the Lord, was put to foil.

Therefore as I said, I say again, dear sister, be not only not careful for your answering, but also be joyful for your cause. Confess Christ and be not ashamed, and he will confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though loss of goods and life be like here to ensue; yet if Christ be true, as he is most true, it is otherwise in deed; for he that loseth his life, saith he, winneth it; but he that saveth it, loseth it. Our sins have deserved many deaths. Now if God deal so with us, that he will make our deserved death a demonstration of his grace, a testimonial of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and an overthrow of his adversaries; what great cause have we to be thankful?

Be thankful, therefore, good sister, be thankful, rejoice and be merry in the Lord; be stout in his cause and quarrel; be not faint hearted, but run out your race, and set your Captain Christ before your eyes. Behold, how great your reward is; see the great glory, and the eternity of felicity, prepared for you. Strive, and fight lawfully, that you may get the crown. Run to get the race, you are

almost at your journey's end. I doubt not, but our Father will with us, send to you also, as he did to Elijah, a fiery chariot, to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be dismayed to leave our cloak behind us, that is, our bodies to ashes. God will one day restore them to us, like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose coming is now at hand. Let us look for it, and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh, Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy grant us his mercy, Amen.

I pray you, pray for me, and so desire my brethren, who be with you. God's peace be with us all, Amen. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord; then how much more they who die for the Lord.

Your brother in bonds,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 85.*

## THIRD CONFERENCE WITH DR. WESTON.

On the 5th of April, Dr. Weston came to the Compter again, and excused himself for his long absence, partly through sickness, partly because Dr. Pendleton had told him that he would come unto him; and partly because he had withstood certain monks, who would have come again into Westminster. He also informed him that the Pope was dead, and declared to him, how he had spoken to the Queen in his behalf, and that death was not near to him. Last of all he excused himself for not answering his arguments against transubstantiation, alleging that his visit was more by fortune, than of purpose.

*Brad.* I would gladly, M. Doctor, if it please you, see your answers to my arguments.

* Fox iii. 304.

*Weston.* Why? You have remembered something that I spake to you, when I was last with you?

*Brad.* No, Sir, I never called them in manner to mind, since that time; as well because I hoped you would have written them; as also for that they seemed not to be so material.

*Weston.* In good faith, I cannot see any other or better way for you, than to submit yourself to the judgment of the Church.

*Brad.* Marry, so will I, Sir, if so be by the Church, you understand Christ's Church.

*Weston.* Lo, you take upon you to judge the Church.

*Brad.* No, Sir, that do I not; in taking upon me to discern I do not judge the Church.

*Weston.* Yes, that you do, and make it invisible.

*Brad.* I do neither.

*Weston.* Why, who can see your Church?

*Brad.* Those, Sir, who have spiritual eyes, wherewith they might have discerned Christ's visible conversation, here upon earth.

*Weston.* Nay, Christ's Church hath three tokens, that all men may look well upon; viz. unity, antiquity, and consent.

*Brad.* These three may be as well in evil as in good, as well in sin as in virtue, as well in the devil's church as in God's Church. As for example, idolatry among the Israelites had all those three. Chrysostom telleth plainly, as you well know, that the Church is well known, only by the Scriptures.

*Weston.* In good faith, you make your Church invisible, when you will have it known only by the Scriptures.

*Brad.* No, Sir, the Scriptures do plainly set forth to us the Church, that all men may well enough thereby know her, if they list to look.

*Weston.* The Church is like a tower or town upon a hill, that all men may see.

*Brad.* True, Sir, all men that be not blind. Visible enough is the Church, but men's blindness is great. Impute not therefore to the Church, that which is to be imputed to blindness.

*Weston.* Where was your Church forty years ago? or, Where is it now, except in a corner of Germany?

*Brad.* Forsooth, Sir, the Church of Christ is dispersed, and not tied to this or that place, but to the Word of God; so that where it is, there is God's Church if it be truly taught.

*Weston.* Lo, is not this to make the Church invisible? Point me out a realm a hundred years past, which maintained your doctrine.

*Brad.* Sir, if you will, or would, well mark the state of the Church before Christ's coming, with it now, as St. Paul and St. Peter willeth us; I think you would not look for such shews of the Church to be made, as to point it out by realms. You know that in Elijah's time, both in Israel and elsewhere, God's Church was not pointable;* and therefore cried he out that he was left alone.

*Weston.* No, marry, did not God say that there were seven thousand, who had not bowed their knees to Baal? Lo then seven thousand! Shew me seven thousand, a hundred years ago, of your religion.

*Brad.* Sir, these seven thousand were not known to men; for then Elijah would not have said, that he had been left alone. And it is plain enough by that which the text hath, namely that God saith, I have reserved to me seven thousand. Mark that it saith, God hath reserved to himself, to his own knowledge, as I doubt not but a hundred years ago, God had his seven thousand in his proper places, though men knew not thereof.

*Weston.* Well, M. Bradford, I will not make your cause worse, than for transubstantiation; although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it yourself not worse. If I can do you good, I will; hurt you I will not. I am no prince, and therefore I cannot promise you life, except you will submit yourself to the definition of the Church.

*Brad.* Sir, so that you will define me your Church, that under it you bring not in a false Church, you shall not see but that we shall soon be at a point.

*Weston.* In good faith, M. Bradford, I see no good will be done; and therefore I will wish you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or send to you again.

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* See Appendix, Note (EE).

And so he sent for M. Weale and departed. Now after his departing came the keeper, M. Claydon, and Stephen Bech, and were very hot with Bradford, and spake unto him in such sort, that he should not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithstanding the friendship they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be against us?

## No. 86.*

## CONFERENCE WITH A GENTLEWOMAN'S SERVANT.

Among divers who came to M. Bradford in prison, some to dispute and confer, some to give counsel, some to take comfort, and some to visit him; there was a certain gentlewoman's servant, whose mistress had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled, by her father and mother, and all her kindred, in her father's house, for not coming to the mass; and like at length to have been pursued to death, had not the Lord delivered her out of her father's house, being put from all that ever she had.

This Gentlewoman's servant therefore, being sent to M. Bradford with commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to overslip.

*Serv.* God be thanked for you, how do you?

*Brad.* Well, I thank God; for as men in sailing, who be near to the shore or haven, where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

*Serv.* Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthsome of body, as methink you be now, God be thanked for it.

*Brad.* Why, I have given over all care and study, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always studied to be withal.

* Fox iii. 305.

*Serv.* Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you; and hath wrought wondrously in you to his glory.

*Brad.* Truth it is, for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek repentance.

*Serv.* Truly, we hear say, there is a rod made so grievous, out of the which I think no man shall pluck his head.

*Brad.* Well, let all that be of Christ's flock, arm themselves to suffer; for I think verily, God will not have one of his to escape untouched, if he love him, let them seek what means or ways they can.

*Serv.* Well, Sir, there goeth a talk of a friar* that should preach before the King, and should tell him, that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late.

*Brad.* Verily, I had a book, within these two days, of his writing, wherein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretics should live; and therefore I do marvel how that talk should arise; for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this friar, he is named Friar Fonse, and with divers others, and I praise God, they have confirmed me; for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain.

*Serv.* Sir, Father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you.

*Brad.* How doth he?

*Serv.* Well, God be thanked.

*Brad.* I am very glad thereof; for indeed my Lord Chancellor did cast him in my teeth;† but as David saith, God hath disappointed him.

*Serv.* Forsooth, God's name be praised, he is very strong.

*Brad.* And, I trust, so are we. What else? Our quarrel is most just; therefore let us not be afraid.

*Serv.* My mistress hath her recommended unto you.

*Brad.* How doth she?

*Serv.* Well, God be praised, but she hath been sorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment; and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory.

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* See p. 255, *Burnet Reform.* ii. 477. † See p. 164.

*Brad.* I pray you tell her, I read this day a godly history, written by Basilius Magnus, of a virtuous woman who was a widow, and was named Juleddo. She had great lands and many children; and nigh her dwelled a cormorant, who for her virtuousness and godly living, had great indignation at her, and of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to law with him; and in conclusion, the matter came to trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant, Why he wrongfully withheld the lands from the woman? He made answer and said, that he might do so; for, saith he, this woman is disobedient to the King's proceedings; for she will in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them. Then the judge, hearing that, said unto her; Woman, if this be true, thou art not only likely to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them. This godly woman, hearing that, stept forth to the judge, and said, Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life? Then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends, yea, and farewell life too; and in respect of the true honour of the everliving God, farewell all. And with that saying did the judge commit her to prison, and afterward she suffered most cruel death; and being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant; for, saith she, ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his flesh; so that also, in the care and trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as strong. And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your mistress of this history.

*Serv.* That shall I, Sir, by God's grace; for she told me that she was with you and M. Saunders, and received your gentle counsel.

*Brad.* We never gave her other counsel but the truth, and in witness thereof we have and will seal it with our bloods; for I thought this night that I had been sent for, because at eleven of the clock there was such rapping at the door.

*Female Attendant.* Why then, I perceive you were afraid.

*Brad.* Ye shall hear how fearful I was, for I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went; and after

I was asleep, three men came into the next chamber, and sang, as it was told me; and yet for all my fearfulness, I heard them not; therefore belike I was not afraid, that slept so fast.

*Serv.* Do you lack any thing towards your necessity?

*Brad.* Nothing but your prayers, and I trust I have them, and you mine.

*Serv.* I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning.

*Brad.* Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer.

*Serv.* Then we let you, therefore the living God be with you.

*Brad.* And with you also, and bless you.

*Serv.* Amen, said he, and gave him thanks, and departed.

After the servant was gone, Bradford reflecting upon what had passed, and tendering the woful case of the gentlewoman; to the intent partly to confirm her with counsel, and partly to relieve her oppressed mind, with some comfort, directed to her the following letter:

## No. 87.*

## TO A CERTAIN GODLY GENTLEWOMAN.

*Troubled and afflicted by her friends, for not coming to mass.*

I WISH unto you, right worshipful, and my dearly beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace, and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word; through the operation of the Holy Spirit; who strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end, in the faithful obedience of God's Gospel, whereto you are called, Amen.

* Fox iii. 345.

I perceived by yourself, the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the school-house, and trial-parlour of the Lord; which to me is, at the least it should be, a great comfort to see the number of God's elect by you increased, who are in that state, whereof God hath not called many, as Paul saith. And as it is a comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord, for his faithfulness' sake, will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you, to the end.

If then your cross be to me a comfort, or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, my dearly beloved, how much more ought it to be so unto you? Unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but also to come into the trace of suffering for his sake; and that not commonly of common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolk, as you told me.

By which I see Christ's words to be true; how that he came, to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide; and therefore stirreth up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than it should continue.

But, my dear sister, if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him; how that for conscience to him, your father and mother have forsaken you, you shall hear him speak in your heart, that he hath received you, and by this would have you to see, how that he maketh you here like to Christ, that elsewhere in heaven you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you shall be like unto him.

For he will make your body, which now you defile not with idolatrical service, in going to mass; like unto his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power, whereby he is able to do all things. He will confess you before his Father, who do not deny his verity, in word nor deed, before your father; he will make you to reign with him, who now suffer for him and with him; he will not leave you comfortless, who seek no comfort but at his hand; though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and strengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him, in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe all the

tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear husband; he will, after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality; such as the heart of man shall never be able to conceive, in such sort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your stedfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly will he shew you, how stedfast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully resigned it to his will.

Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you shall pledge him in the cup of his glory. Desire to drink it before it come to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drink, and all those who, for fear of the cross, and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked, in betraying in fact and deed, that which their heart embraceth for verity. The which thing if you should do, which God forbid, then, my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you should not only lose all that I have before spoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory; but also be a cast-away and partaker of God's most heavy displeasure, in hell fire eternally; and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, lose for ever and ever all ease and comfort. For he that gathereth not with me, saith Christ, as no mass gospeller doth, scattereth abroad.

According to that we do in this body, we shall receive, be it good or bad. If of our words we shall be judged, to condemnation or salvation; much more then of our facts and deeds. You cannot be partaker of God's religion and antichrist's service, whereof the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ's Church, and a member of the Pope's Church. You must glorify God, not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed. You may not think that God requireth less of you, his wife now, than your husband did of you. If both heart and body your husband would have, shall Christ have less, trow you, who hath so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband could not admit an excuse, how your heart was his only, if he had taken your body in bed with another; do you think that Christ will allow your body at mass, although your heart consent not to it?

God esteemeth his children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works; and therefore in Elijah's time he counted none to be his servants and people, but such as had not bowed their

knees to Baal; as now he doth not in England account any to be his dearlings, who know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds, as do our mass gospellers.

We ought to desire, above all things, the sanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom; and shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly as it is at mass, by making it a sacrifice propitiatory, and setting forth a false Christ, *of the priests' and baker's making*, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews rent their clothes asunder, on seeing or hearing any thing blasphemously done or spoken against God, and shall we yet come to church where mass is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their clothes, to see the people of Lycaonia offer sacrifice to them, and shall we see sacrifice and God's service done to an inanimate creature, and be mute?

What thing helpeth more, or so much, antichrist's kingdom as doth the mass? And what destroyeth preaching, and the kingdom of Christ upon earth, more than it doth? And how can we then say, Let thy kingdom come, and go to mass? How can we pray before God, Thy will be done on earth, when we will do our own will, and the will of our father, or friends? How pray we, Deliver us from evil, who knowing the mass to be evil, do come unto it?

But why go I about to light a candle in the noon day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it; in that all men, in so doing, do but dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How long will men yet halt on both knees, saith God? Halting, saith Paul, bringeth out of the way, that is to say, out of Christ, who is the way. So that he who is not in him, shall wither away, and be cast into hell fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his Father, who be now ashamed of his truth, before this wicked generation.

Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the truth, and therethrough to have escaped papistical uncleanness, than now to return to it; making eftsoons your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness, as you do, if you do but go to the church, where mass is. Be pure therefore, and keep yourself from all filth of the

spirit, and of the flesh, abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

And so the God of peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall govern you, the spirit of God shall sanctify you, and be with you for ever; to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble. Which is but short, if you consider the eternity you shall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord; which undoubtedly you shall not fail but inherit for ever, if so be you, as the elect child of God, put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and yield not ever to the wicked world, but stick still against it unto the end.

God, for his holy name's sake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever; and help you always, as I myself would be holpen at his hands, in all things, and especially in this his own cause. Amen, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 88.*

## ANOTHER LETTER TO HIS MOTHER,

*As his last Farewell unto her in this World, a little before he was burned.*

GOD'S mercy and peace in Christ, be more and more perceived of us, Amen,

My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ, I heartily pray and beseech you, to be thankful for me unto God; who thus now taketh me unto himself. I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an adulterer, &c.; but I die as a witness of Christ, his Gospel and verity, which hitherto I have confessed, I thank God, as well by preaching, as by imprisonment; and now, even presently, I shall most willingly confirm the same by fire.

* Fox iii. 351. Cov. 454.

I acknowledge that God most justly might take me hence, simply for my sins, which are many, great, and grievous; but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, hath pardoned them all, I hope. But now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesu, the prophets, and apostles, is God's truth. The prelates do persecute in me, Christ whom they hate, and his truth, which they may not abide; because their works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light, lest men should see their darkness.

Therefore, my good and most dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory; and attend to the truth, which, I thank God for it, I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the Father, through Christ. Hearken, as you may, to the Scriptures; serve God after his word, and not after custom. Beware of the Romish religion in England, defile not yourself with it; carry Christ's cross, as he shall lay it upon your back; forgive them that kill me; pray for them, for they know not what they do; commit my cause to God our Father; be mindful of both your daughters, to keep them as you can.

I send all my writings to you by my brother Roger; do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would; he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you; only I pray God, my Father, for his Christ's sake, to bless you and keep you from evil. May HE give you patience, may HE make you thankful, as for me so for yourself, who will take the fruit of your womb to witness his verity; wherein I confess to the whole world I die; and depart this life, in hope of a much better; which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son, Jesus Christ.

Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life; beseeching the almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise, for ever and ever, Amen. Out of prison, the 24 of June, 1555.

Your son, in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

On the Friday night previous to his execution, Bradford dreamed that the chain prepared for his burning was brought to the Compter gate; than which in such circumstances nothing could be more natural, although it might in his case be a preternatural intimation. Somewhat troubled with this dream he awoke about three o'clock, and spent the remainder of the night in prayer. He eat his dinner on the Saturday with his usual cheerfulness, although he conversed frequently with a companion who spent the day with him, of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and the prevalence* of sin at that period.

In the afternoon, whilst they were walking together in the keeper's chamber, his wife came up suddenly, exclaiming, "Oh, M. Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news, you are to be burned to-morrow, they are now bringing your chain, and you must soon go to Newgate." Bradford immediately pulled off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said; I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it does not now come upon me suddenly, but as a matter expected by me every day and hour, the Lord make me worthy

* Ripeness.

thereof; and so thanking her for her gentleness, departed into his chamber and went alone by himself, and prayed a long time in private. After which he returned to his friend, and delivered him divers writings and papers, and informed him what he would have done relating to them; and after they had spent the afternoon in sundry such matters, half-a-dozen more of his friends came in, with whom he spent all the evening in prayer, and other pious exercises.

A little before he went out of the Compter, Bradford made a remarkable farewell prayer, with such a flow of tears, and so exceedingly spiritual, that it deeply affected the minds of the hearers. Whilst putting on a clean shirt, which had been made for his burning, by the wife of one Mr. Walter Marlars, and who was a very good nurse and kind friend to him; he made another prayer on the wedding garment, which excited so much admiration in some of those who were present, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears listened to his prayer.

## No. 89.*

# BRADFORD'S PRAYER,

*That God would shorten the Persecution, and restore the true Religion.*

As David, seeing the angel with the sword ready drawn to plague Jerusalem, cried unto the Lord, and said, *It is I, Lord, that have sinned, and even I that have done wickedly; thy hand be upon me, and not upon thy poor sheep:* wherethrough thou wast moved to mercy, and badest thy angel to put up his sword into the sheath, for thou hadst taken punishment enough: even so we, O most gracious God, seeing thy fearful sword of vengeance ready drawn, and presently striking against this commonwealth, and thy Church in the same; we, I say, are occasioned every one of us to cast off our eyes from beholding, and narrowly espying of other men's faults, and do set our own only in sight, that with the same David thy servant, and with Jonas in the ship, we may cry, and say unto thee, that it is we, O Lord, that have sinned and procured thy grievous wrath upon us. And thus, we presently gathered, do acknowledge ourselves guilty of most horrible ingratitude for our good king, for thy gospel and pure religion, and for the peace of the Church, and quietness of the commonwealth, besides our negligences, and many other grievous sins; wherethrough we deserved not only these, but much more grievous plagues and punishments, if that thou didst not presently, as thou art wont, extend thy mercy upon us; that thou in thine anger dost remember thy mercy, before we seek or sue for it. We take boldness, O gracious Lord, and as thou hast commanded us to do in our trouble, we come and call upon thee to be merciful unto us; and of thy goodness in Christ, we most humbly pray thee to hold thy hand, and to cease thy wrath; or at the least so mitigate it, that this realm may be quietly governed, and the same eftsoones to be a harbour for

* Strype Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. 2. 281. We have not been able to discover the prayer, actually used upon this occasion—but have substituted the above.

thy Church and true religion: and which may it please thee to restore again to us, for thy great mercy's sake; and we shall praise thy name everlastingly, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour, mediator, and advocate. *Amen.*

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On departing out of the chamber, he likewise made a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortations to them to fear and serve God continually, labouring to eschew all manner of evil. He then turned himself to the wall, and prayed earnestly that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for Christ's sake. When he arrived in the court all the prisoners cried out to him to bid him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, shedding many tears.

Bradford was carried to Newgate about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad; but contrary to expectation, there was in Cheapside and other places, between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people who came to see him, and most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare.

A rumour having been circulated overnight that Bradford would be burned the next day, in Smithfield, by four o'clock in the morning; an immense multitude of men and women collected before that hour, but it was nine o'clock before he was brought into Smithfield. In going through Newgate thitherward, he perceived a friend standing near the keeper's house, to whom he reached his hand over the people, and gave him his velvet night cap, and his handkerchief, with some other things. Roger Beswick, his brother-in-law, having taken Bradford by the hand, Woodroffe, one of the Sheriffs of London, struck Beswick with his staff, and made his head bleed profusely; a sight which greatly afflicted our martyr, who immediately took an affectionate farewell of his relative. July 1

Bradford was then led forth to Smithfield, conducted by a more considerable body of armed men, than had been seen at any similar execution; for some were stationed in every corner of Smithfield, besides those who stood near the stake. Bradford suffered joyfully and constantly, in company with John Leafe, a youth of nineteen years of age, apprentice to a tallow chandler; and who seems to have

possessed not only great courage and constancy, but a depth of theological knowledge far beyond his years. When they came to Smithfield, M. Bradford lying prostrate on one side of the stake, and Leafe on the other, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves for the space of a minute.

Then one of the Sheriffs said to Bradford, Arise and make an end, for the press* of the people is great. Whereupon they both stood up on their feet, and M. Bradford took a faggot in his hand and kissed it, and so likewise he did the stake, and then desired the Sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment; saying, I have nothing else to give him. M. Bradford then put off his cloaths to his shirt and went to the stake, and holding up his hands and casting his countenance to heaven, he said, **O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins; because of idolatry, beware of false antichrists, take heed that they do not deceive you.** As he was speaking these words, Woodroffe, the Sheriff, bad them tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. O master Sheriff, said Bradford, I am quiet, God forgive you this master Sheriff.

One of the officers who made the fire,

* See Appendix, Note (FF.).

hearing Master Bradford speaking thus to the Sheriff, said; If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool and had best hold your peace; to which M. Bradford made no answer, but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and entreated the people to pray for him, and turning his head towards the young man who suffered with him, said; Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a joyful supper with the Lord this night; and so embracing the reeds, said,* Strait is the way and narrow is the gate, that leadeth unto eternal salvation, and few there be that find it. And thus they both ended their mortal lives, like two lambs, without any alteration of countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the goal they had long run at; to the which (adds the martyrologist) I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Saviour, Amen.†

Having noticed the brutal conduct of the Sheriff Woodroffe, it appears but just to mention the contrary behaviour of his colleague in office, Sir William Chester; who acted towards Bradford and the other martyrs,

* 1 Neale, 85. † Fox iii. 307.

who suffered during his Shrievalty, with as much kindness, humanity, and respect, as Woodroffe discovered levity of conduct, cruelty, and hardened barbarity.

In person, Bradford was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He usually slept only four hours in the night, and till sleep overpowered him he continued reading. His chief recreation was in pious society and religious conversation, in which he spent a short time at table after dinner, and then to prayer and study again. He considered that hour ill spent in which he did not some good action, either with his pen, in his study, or in exhorting others. He was no niggard of his purse,* but would liberally participate what he had with his fellow prisoners; and usually once a-week he visited the thieves, pickpockets, and such others as were on the other side of the prison, whom he would affectionately exhort, to learn from their troubles how to amend their lives; and would afterwards distribute among them, some portion of money for their relief and comfort.

* "He was very charitable, in so much, that in a hard time, he sold his chains, rings, and jewels, to relieve those who were in want."—S. Clarke's Martyrology, vol. i. 230.

Both whilst in the King's Bench and the Poultry Compter, he preached twice a-day regularly, unless sickness hindered him; and frequently administered the sacrament; and the keepers were so indulgent to him, that so many pious persons attended his sermons, and partook of that sacred ordinance, that his chamber was usually nearly full. Preaching, reading, and praying, constituted his whole life, and he always *studied upon his knees.* In the midst of a scanty dinner, which was his only meal, he used often to muse with himself, drawing his hat over his eyes, while the tears streamed downward upon his trencher.

He was of a gentle and amiable disposition, and held in such great reverence and admiration by all good men, that great numbers who knew him only by fame, greatly lamented at his death; and even many of the papists themselves wished heartily for his life.* He seldom went to bed without shedding tears; and there was never any prisoner with him who did not profit greatly by his society; as all those with whom he associated were ready to testify, and confessed no less to the glory of God.†

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* See Appendix, Note (GG.) † See Appendix, Note (HH.)

## IN MORTEM JOHANNIS BRADFORDI,

*Constantissimi Martyris.*

Discipulo nulli supra licet esse magistrum:
Quique Deo servit, tristia multa feret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem:
Ad cœlum stricta est difficilisque via.

Has Bradforde tuo dum condis pectore voces,
Non hominum rigidas terribilesque minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,
Tradis et accensæ membra cremanda pyræ.

Besides the letters we have already introduced, this holy martyr wrote several others; with which, not being able from their contents or otherwise, to ascribe them to any particular period, we conclude this interesting and instructive compendium, of the faith and practice of one of the most pious, learned, and faithful of the ENGLISH REFORMERS; and as we imagine, of the principles upon which the REFORMATION in ENGLAND proceeded.

## No. 90.*

*To his loving Brethren, B. and C., with their Wives and whole Families.*

I BESEECH the everliving God to give to you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of his Holy Spirit, and the continual feeling of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

The world, my brethren, at this present, seemeth to have the upper hand, iniquity overfloweth, the truth and verity seem to be suppressed, and they who take part therewith are unjustly entreated. The cause of all this is God's anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a father nurtureth us.

We have been unthankful for his word, we have contemned his kindness, we have been negligent in prayer; we have been too carnal, covetous, licentious, &c.; we have not hastened to heavenward, but rather to hellward; we were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances. So that, of his justice he could not long forbear, but make us to feel his anger, as now he hath done in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting satan to serve us with antichristian religion; and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to him, and seem to allow it in deed and outward fact; our bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

This should we look upon, as a sign of God's anger, procured by our sins; which, my good brethren, every one of us should now call to our memories oftentimes, as particularly as we can; that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment, which God will lay upon us for them. Thus should we do, in consideration of God's anger in this time.

Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen

* Fox iii. 317. Cov. 330.

of us, my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not ye think, that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yea, verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards, in hardening our hearts by impenitence and negligence towards God and true godliness; and then if death had come, should not we have perished, both soul and body, in eternal fire and perdition?

Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone forward in our evils? There is no greater sign of damnation, than to live in evil and sin, unpunished of God; as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security, which of all plagues is the most grievous plague that can be. They are bastards and not sons, for they are not under God's rod of correction. A great mercy it is therefore that God doth punish us; for if he loved us not, he would not punish us.

Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think ourselves to be God's household and children, because he beginneth his chastening at us. Now calleth he us to remember our sins past, Wherefore? That we might repent and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children, and so begin to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ; and at his coming, in very deed, shall enjoy his presence, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according to the power, whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect hereof, not lament, but laud God; not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice, and be glad that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his cross, thereby to come to him,—to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we be not ashamed of his Gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us; crowning us with crowns of joy and endless felicity. For blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Be glad, saith Peter, for the Spirit of God resteth upon you. After that ye are a little while afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, be not discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods, for the confession of Christ's Gospel and truth; which ye have believed, and lively was taught amongst you, in the days of our late good and most holy prince, King Edward.

This is most certain, if ye lose any thing for Christ's sake, and for contemning the antichristian service set up again among us; as you for your parts, even in prison, shall find God's great and rich mercy, far passing all worldly wealth; so shall your wives and children, in this present life, find and feel God's providence more plentifully than tongue can tell; for he will shew merciful kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good man's seed shall not go begging his bread; ye are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

I trust ye all, my dearly beloved, will consider this gear with yourselves, and in the cross for God's mercy, which is more sweet, and more to be set by than life itself; much more then, than any muck or pelf of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful, for the afflictions of this life, are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. Ye know the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the devil; but is a strait way, which few walk in, for few live godly in Christ Jesu, few regard the life to come, few remember the day of judgment, few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, that deny him here. Few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, who are ashamed now of his truth and true service; few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow; few love God better than their goods. But, I trust yet, ye are of these few, my dearly beloved; I trust ye be of the little flock, which shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust ye are of the mourners and lamenters, who shall be comforted with God's comforts which never shall be taken from you, if ye now repent your former evils, if now ye strive against the evils that are in you; if now ye continue to

call upon God, if now ye defile not your bodies with any idolatrous service, used in the antichristian churches; if ye molest not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a pledge of eternal redemption; a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth. Which good Spirit, I beseech the Father of mercy to give us all, for his dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all and save you, all that believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered; so that not one of them shall perish, neither shall any man or devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, who loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further than he will; nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will.

Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you; only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clear, and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service, which now everywhere is used; and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing may he do for his name's sake, in Christ our Lord; Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 91.*

*To his dearly beloved and faithful Friends in God,* ERKENWALDE RAWLINS *and* WIFE, *exhorting them to be joyful under the Cross, as a Token of God's singular Favour towards them.*

GOD, our dear and most merciful Father, through Christ, be with you, my good brother and sister, as with his children for ever; and in

* Fox iii. 318. Cov. 314.

all things so guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him. Amen.

Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporally, for the which I beseech the Lord, as to make me thankful, so to recompense you, both now and eternally; I cannot but go about, Lord help me hereto for thy mercy's sake, to write something for your comfort spiritually. My dearly beloved, look not upon these days, and the afflictions of the same here with us, simply as they seem unto you; that is, as dismal days, and days of God's vengeance, but rather as lively days, and days of God's fatherly kindness towards you, and such as ye be, that is, towards such as repent their sins and evil life past, and earnestly purpose to amend; walking not after the will of the world, as the most part of men do for the preservation of their pelf, which, will they, nill they, they shall leave sooner or later, and to whom, or how it shall be used, they know not.

Indeed, to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of sorrow is but now; because they contemn the physic of their father, who by these purging times and cleansing days, would work their weal, which they will not. And because they will not have God's blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them, by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them; as when the sick man will have no kind of physic, at the hands of the physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and destroyeth him, at the length. To such men indeed, these days are and should be doleful days, days of woe and weeping, because their damnation draweth nigh. But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lord's will, among whom I do not only count you, but as far as man may judge, I know ye are; unto such, I say, this time is and should be comfortable.

For, first now, your Father chastised you and me for our sins; for the which, if he would have destroyed us, then would he have let us alone, and left us to ourselves, in nothing to take to heart his fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth him to work presently; because elsewhere he will not remember our transgressions, as Paul writeth, He chastiseth us in the world, lest with the world we should perish.

Therefore, my dear hearts, call to mind your sins, to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight; and withal, undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing. So that, I say, first, we have cause to rejoice for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, sleeping in our sins and security, but as mindful of us, doth correct us as his children; whereby we may be certain that we are not bastards, but children, for he chastiseth every child whom he receiveth. So that they who are not partakers of his chastising, or who contemn it, declare themselves to be bastards, and not children, as I know ye are, who, as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad, my dear hearts, as folks knowing certainly, even by this visitation of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect children; whose faults your Father doth visit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from you, Amen.

Secondly, ye have cause to rejoice for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein not only ye yourselves shall better know yourselves; but also the world shall know, that ye be none of its, but the Lord's dearlings. Before these days came, Lord God, how many thought of themselves, they had been in God's bosom, and so were taken, and would be taken of the world? But now we see whose they are, for to whom we obey, his servants we are. If we obey the world, which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it, then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's; which thing, I mean that ye are God's, these days have declared, both to you, to me, and to all other that know you, better than ever we knew it.

Therefore ye have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seeing yourselves to be God's babes, and in seeing that all God's children do so count you. What though the world repine thereat? What though it kick? What though it seek to trouble and molest you? My dear hearts, it doth but its kind. He cannot love the Lord, who lives not in the Lord; he cannot brook the child, who hateth the father; he cannot mind the servant, who careth not for the master. If ye were of the world, the world would love you, ye should dwell quietly, there would be no grief, no molestation. If

the devil dwelt in you, which the Lord forbid, he would not stir up his knights to besiege your home, to snatch at your goods, or suffer his fiends to enter into your hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you, as he doth by faith, therefore satan stirreth up his first begotten son, the world, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you.

And perchance, your dear Father, to try and to make known unto you, and to the world, that ye are destinate to another dwelling than here on earth, to another city than man's eyes have seen at any time; hath given, or will give power to satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you; and by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him; for ye may not love them above him, as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

Satan, perchance, telleth God, as he did of Job, that ye love God for your good's sake. What now then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, shall give him power over your goods, and body accordingly, should ye be dismayed? Should ye despair? Should ye be faint-hearted? Should ye not rather rejoice, as did the apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lord's sake? Oh, forget not the end that happened to Job; for as it happened to him, so shall it happen unto you; for God is the same God, and cannot long forget to shew mercy to them, that look and long for it, as I know ye do; and I pray you do so still, for the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget, to shew and pour out his mercy upon you.

After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you, saith Peter, he will visit, comfort, and confirm you. As to Jacob, wrestling with the angel, at the length morning came, and the sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as Job and Jacob did, that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you as you may, and whilst you have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end.

Go to therefore, dispose your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like God's champions; or if ye feel such infirmity in yourselves, that ye be not able, give place to

violence, and go where you may, with free and safe conscience, serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance or fortune, but to come from the Lord; other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joseph in a dream, by an angel, that he should fly; so if ye feel such infirmity in yourselves, as should turn to God's dishonour, and your own destruction withal; know that at this present, I am as God's angel, to admonish you to take time whilst ye have it; and to see that in no case, God's name by you may be dishonoured. Joseph might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do; but, dear hearts, let vocations and all things else, give place to God's name, and the sanctifying thereof.

This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand to it, but I speak it in respect of your infirmity, which, if you feel to be so great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried, to yourselves and to others. For by this you shall know, how to take this world, and your home here as no home; but that ye look for another, and so give occasion to others, less to love this world; and perchance to some to doubt of their religion, wherein, though they be earnest, yet would not they lose so much as ye do for your religion, which ye confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

Last of all, ye have cause to rejoice over these days, because they be days of conformation; in the which, and by the which, God our Father maketh us like to Christ's image here, that we may be like to him elsewhere. For if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we be buried with him, we shall rise with him; if we company with him in afflictions, we shall rejoice with him in glory; if we sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven. If we take his part, he will take ours; if we lose aught for his name's sake, he will give us all things for his truth's sake; so that we ought to rejoice and be glad, for it is not given to every-one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, home, &c. for the Lord's sake.

What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with his Son? What may Christ, our Saviour, do more for us, than to make us his warriors? What can the Holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of Hosts? This cognizance of the Lord, standeth not in forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, or such other baggage, and antichristian pelf, but in suffering for the Lord's sake. The world shall hate you, saith Christ. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children, *the world shall hate you.*

Rejoice, therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you, and make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days, ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this world, more to desire life everlasting, more to be holy; for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict us, and so come to God's company. Which thing, because, we cannot do, as long as this body is as it is, therefore, by the door of death, we must enter with Christ, into eternal life, and immortality of soul and body; which God of his mercy send shortly, for our Saviour, Jesus Christ's sake, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 92.*

## TO HIS GOOD FRIENDS, IN THE LORD, M. R. AND HIS WIFE.†

My dearly beloved, I heartily commend me unto you in our common Christ, whom I so call, not that I would make him as common things be, that is, nothing set by, but because by him we are brought into a communion; and that as with him, so with his Father, and as with his Father, so with all God's people, if we be his people, as I trust we are; and therefore write I unto you, as one

* Cov. 383. † Most probably the same persons as the last.

careful, but not so much as I should be, for you, as for them whose well-doing comforteth me and is profitable to me, and whose evil-doing maketh me heavy, and woundeth me.

The days are come, in the which we cannot but declare what we be, if we be indeed as we should be, as I trust we are, that is, if we be Christ's disciples. I mean we cannot now do as the world doth, or say as it saith; but as God's Church doth and saith. The world seeketh itself, and speaketh thereafter. The Church of God seeketh Christ's glory, and speaketh accordingly. The worldlings follow the world; the Church-children follow their Captain Christ, and therefore, as of the world they are not known to be as they be, so are they hated, and if God permit it, are persecuted and slain; the which persecution is the true touchstone, which trieth the true Church-children from hypocrites, as the wind doth the wheat from the chaff.

And of this gear, this our time and age setteth very many forth for example, doctrine, and fear, who once were hearty and very zealous; and now are so cold, that they smell nothing of the spirit; for they are not only afraid to seem to speak with a Church-child, but also ashamed; and not only ashamed of them, and so of that which they profess, but also frame and fashion themselves, in all outward behaviour, as in coming to church and hearing mass, so as no man can accuse them for not allowing it, or not honouring it, as well as the papists. Whereas in their hearts they disallow it, and know the same to be naught, at the least, they have known it; but halting out of the way, may perchance have brought them so far, that now they cannot see the way, they are so far and so long gone astray; for the further and longer a man goeth wide, the harder shall it be to recover and see the way; and therefore the apostle giveth warning thereof, *Heb.* xii. as doth Moses, *Deut.* xxix., speaking of men who bless themselves, inwardly cursing themselves; read both the chapters, I pray you.

And mark the example of M. Hales,* who after that he consented to seem to allow in outward fact, that which he knew once was evil, was fearfully left of God, to our admonition. For albeit God hath

* See Appendix, Note (P.)

not done thus to all, who have indeed done that which M. Hales purposed to do; yet in this example, God teacheth us how fearful a thing it is, to wound our consciences, and do any thing thereagainst, to the offence of the godly, and comfort of the obstinate.

I write not this, as thereof to accuse you or either of you, for as I cannot lightly be persuaded of any such thing of you, so I am assured you hitherto would not do any such thing; for I ween there be yet no great penalty, to punish you for not so doing, if thereof you should have been accused. For he that will do a thing unforced, I cannot hope any thing of the same, but that he will run apace when he is forced. But of this enough to you, who are to be comforted and exhorted, to continue in that pureness of religion, which you have, as I think, hitherto received, and by your open conversation protested.

Howbeit, considering how you have heard and read, as much as in manner can be spoken herein, for the Scriptures, which of themselves are most perfect herein, you have read and read again; I think it good to exhort you, to use earnest and hearty prayer, as I trust you do, and then doubtless God will so write that you have read, in your hearts, as shall be both comfortable and profitable, unto you and others plentifully.

You shall rejoice in the strait way, which few find, and fewer walk in, but most few continue therein to the end. You shall suffer with joy, the direption of your goods, because the best part of your substance is in heaven. You will set before you the example of Christ, the beginner and ender of your faith, who suffered much more than we can suffer, that we should not be faint hearted. You will rejoice, and greatly, because great is your reward in heaven. You will be glad that God accounteth you worthy to suffer any thing, for his sake. You will set before you the end of this your short cross, and the great glory which will ensue the same. You will know, that it is no small benefit of God, to suffer for his sake. You will know, that your sorrowing shall be turned to joying. You will know, that as God doth make you now like to Christ in suffering, so shall you be in reigning; and if you be partakers of affliction, you shall be also of glory, &c. Summa, you will know

that this is the surest and safest way to heaven, which is called the kingdom of patience, *Rev.* i.

But because I have written a little treatise hereof, and of the harm of halting with the world, in coming to mass, I send them both unto you to peruse and read them, and then at your leisure, to redeliver them to this bringer; or my man, whom I shall send to you for the same. In the mean season, I shall as heartily as I can, pray to God for you both, my most dear members in the Lord. What said I, as heartily as I can? God forgive me, for I do nothing so well as I might, in that I flatter myself too much; may God not lay it to my charge.

Indeed I have most cause to pray night and day, and to give thanks night and day, for you both. The Lord of mercy in Christ bless you both, keep you both, and send you both, as well to do, as I wish to my dearest and best beloved friends and brethren in the Lord. I pray you continue to pray for me, as I doubt not you do, and so give thanks to God for me, for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever. The day will come, when we shall meet together, and never depart. God send it shortly, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 93.*

## TO HIS VERY GOOD FRIEND IN THE LORD, DR. ALBERT HILL, PHYSICIAN.

THE God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, at this present and for ever, engraft in your heart the sense of his mercy in Christ, and the continuance of his consolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy, whatsoever cross he shall lay upon you, Amen.

Hitherto I could have no such liberty as to write unto you, as I think you know; but now in that, through God's providence, I have

* Fox iii. 326. Cov. 294.

no such restraint, I cannot but something write, as well to purge me of the suspicion of unthankfulness towards you, as also to signify my carefulness for you in these perilous days; lest you should wax cold in God's cause, which God forbid; or suffer the light of the Lord, once kindled in your heart, to be quenched, and so become as you were before; after the example of the world, and of many others, who would have been accounted otherwise in our days, and yet still beguile themselves, still would be so accounted, although by their outward life, they declare the contrary; in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithstanding that the outward man doth curry favour.

In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous,—and therefore requireth he the whole man, as well body as soul, being both create, as to immortality and society with him, so redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and now sanctified by the Holy Spirit to be the temple of God, and member of his Son;—as I say, by their parting stake, to give God the heart, and the world their body, they deny God to be jealous;—for else they would give him both, as the wife will do to her husband, whether he be jealous or no, if she be honest,—so they play the dissemblers with the Church of God by their fact, offending the godly, whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careless and conscienceless, if they be fallen; and occasioning the wicked and obstinate to triumph against God, and the more vehemently to prosecute their malice against such, as will not defile themselves in body or soul with the Romish rags, now revived amongst us.

Because of this, I mean lest you, my dear master and brother in the Lord, should do as many of our gospellers, or rather gospel spillers do, for fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord, who hath power both of soul and body; and that not only temporally, but also eternally; I could not but write something unto you, as well because duty deserveth it, for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, for the which may he reward you, for I cannot, as also because charity and love compelleth me. Not that I think you have any need, for as I may rather learn of you, so I doubt not but you have hitherto kept yourself upright from halting, but that I might both quiet my

conscience, calling upon me hereabout, and signify unto you by something, my carefulness for your soul, as painfully and often, you have done for my body.

Therefore, I pray you, call to mind, that there be but two masters, two kinds of people, two ways, and two mansion places— The masters be Christ, and satan; the people be servitors to either of these; the ways be strait and wide; the mansions be heaven, and hell. Again, consider that this world is the place of trial of God's people, and the devil's servants; for as the one will follow his master, whatsoever cometh of it, so will the other. For a time, it is hard to discern who pertaineth to God, and who to the devil; as in the calm and peace, who is a good shipman and warrior, and who is not. But as when the storm ariseth, the expert mariner is known; as in war the good soldier is seen; so in affliction and the cross, easily God's children are known, from satan's servants. For then, as the good servant will follow his master, so will the godly follow their captain, come what, come will; whereas the wicked and hypocrites will bid adieu, and desire less of Christ's acquaintance.

For which cause, the cross is called a probation and a trial, because it trieth who will go with God, and who will forsake him; as now in England we see how small a company Christ hath, in comparison of satan's soldiers. Let no man deceive himself, for he that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. No man can serve two masters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the lukewarm, that is, such as are both hot and cold, he spitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees, doth God take for his servants. The way of Christ is the strait way, and so strait, that as few find it, and few walk in it, so no man can halt in it, but needs must go upright; for as the straitness will suffer no reeling to this side or that side, so if any man halt, he is like to fall off the bridge, into the pit of eternal perdition.

Strive therefore, good Master Doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it; and if you should be called or pulled back, look not on this side, or that side, or behind you as Lot's wife did; but straightforwards on the end, which is set before you, though it be to come, as even now present; like as you do, and will your patients to do, in purgations and other your ministrations, to consider the effect that will

ensue; wherethrough the bitterness and loathsomeness of the purgation is so overcome, and the painfulness, in abiding the working of what is ministered, is so eased, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive what is to be received, although it be never so unpleasant; so, I say, set before you the end of this strait way, and then doubtless, as Paul saith, Æternum pondus gloriæ pariet, whilst you look not on the thing seen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not seen, which is eternal.

So doth the husbandman, in ploughing and tilling, set before him the harvest time; so doth the fisher consider the draught of his net, rather than the casting in; so doth the merchant, the return of his merchandise; and so should we, in these stormy days, set before us, not the loss of our goods, liberty, and very life; but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment, the fire that shall burn the wicked and disobedient to God's gospel, the blast of the trump, the exceeding glory prepared for us in heaven eternally; such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive.

The more we lose here, the greater joy shall we have there; the more we suffer, the greater triumph; for corruptible dross, we shall find incorruptible treasures; for gold, glory; for silver, solace without end; for riches, robes royal; for earthly homes, eternal palaces, mirth without measure, pleasure without pain, felicity endless: *Summa*, we shall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Oh, happy place! oh, that this day would come, then shall the end of the wicked be lamentable, then shall they receive the just reward of God's vengeance; then shall they say, woe, woe, that ever they did as they have done. Read *Wisd.* ii. iii. iv. v.—*Matt.* xxv.—1 *Cor.* xv.—2 *Cor.* v. and by faith, which God increase in us, consider the things there set forth. And for your comfort, read *Heb.* xi. to see what faith hath done; always considering the way to heaven to be by many tribulations, and that all they who will live godly in Christ Jesu, must suffer persecution.

You know that this is our alphabet; he that will be my disciple, saith Christ, must deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me; not this bishop, nor that doctor; not this emperor, nor that king, but ME, saith Christ; for he that loveth father, mother, wife,

children, or very life, better than me, is not worthy of me. Remember that the same Lord saith, He that will save his life, shall lose it. Comfort yourself with this, that as the devils had no power over the porkets, or over Job's goods, without God's leave, so shall they have none over you. Remember also, that all the hairs of your head are numbered with God. The devil may make one believe he will drown him, as the sea in its surges threateneth the land; but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over the which it cannot pass, so hath he done for the other.

On God therefore cast your care, love him, serve him after his word, fear him, trust in him, hope at his hand for all help, and always pray, looking for the cross; and whensoever it cometh, be assured the Lord, as he is faithful, so will he never tempt you further, than he will make you able to bear; but in the midst of the temptation, will make such an evasion, as shall be most to his glory, and your eternal comfort.

God, for his mercy in Christ, with his Holy Spirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercy shadow you, and as his dear child guide you for evermore. To whose merciful tuition, as I do with my hearty prayer commit you; so I doubt not but you pray for me also, and so I beseech you to do still. My brother P.* telleth me, you would have the last part of St. Jerome's works, to have the use thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three days well forbear it, but yet on Thursday next I will send it you, if God let me not; and use me, and that I have, as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Christ, direct our ways to his glory, Amen.

Out of prison by yours to command,

JOHN BRADFORD.

* Most probably the martyr Philpot.

## No. 94.*

# TO HIS DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN, R. AND E., WITH THEIR WIVES AND FAMILIES.

THE comfort of Christ, felt commonly of his children, in their cross for his sake, the everliving God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yoke-fellows, especially of good Mary, my good sister in the Lord, Amen.

If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the gospel's sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you; as he will doubtless, for his mercy's sake, if you hope in him, for this bindeth him, as David in Christ's person witnesseth, Our fathers hoped in thee and thou deliveredst them, &c. *Ps.* xxii.; yet by conjectures I could not but suppose, though not so certainly, the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this realm, most justly for our sins, and abusing the light lent us of the Lord, to the setting forth of ourselves, more than of God's glory; that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent, which God grant us to do; as also we might have more feeling and sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting of us, thereby to make us, as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts, for God's holy name's sake.

For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write, the Lord be praised, and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I should have done if I had heard nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord, although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary, and to go on forwards in the way of God, whereinto you are entered; considering that the same cannot, but so much more and more wax

* Fox iii. 332. Cov. 338.

strait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer the end of it. Even as in the travail of a woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so it goeth with us in the Lord's way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death, to eternal felicity.

Example whereof we have, I will not say in the holy prophets and apostles of God, who when they were young girded themselves and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for satan can something abide a man to begin well and set forwards, but rather than he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

Therefore, as we should not be dismayed now at this world, as though some strange thing had happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the devil declareth himself after his old wont; in that we have professed no less but to forsake the world and the devil, as God's very enemy; in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to God's school, than to deny ourselves, and to take up our cross, and follow our master, who leadeth us none other way, than he himself hath gone before us. As, I say, we should not be dismayed, so we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we set before us as present, the time to come, like as the wife in her travail, doth the deliverance of her child, and as the saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ; for the apostle saith, He set before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore contemned the shame and sorrow of the cross; so if we did, we should find at the length as they found.

For whom would it grieve, who had a long journey to go, to go through a piece of foul way, if he knew that after that, the way should be most pleasant, yea the journey should be ended, and he at his resting place most happy? Who will be afraid or loth to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his wife, children, or friends, &c. when he knows

he shall shortly after be associated unto them inseparably, even after his own heart's desire? Who will be sorry to forsake this life, who cannot but be most certain of eternal life? Who loveth the shadow better than the body? Who can love this life, but they who regard not the life to come? Who can desire the dross of this world, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in heaven? I mean, Who is afraid to die, but such as hope not to live eternally?

Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things, to them who for his sake lose any thing, or suffer any sorrow. And is he not true? How can he but be true, for guile was never found in his mouth? Alas, then why are we so slack and slow, yea hard of heart to believe his promising us, thus plentifully, eternal blissfulness; and are so ready to believe the world, promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both knees; if so, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many things else. But how doth it pay this gear? Or if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? Or if so, how long, I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes men to die shamefully, I mean, as rebels and other malefactors, who refuse to die for God's cause? What way is so sure a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christ's cause? If there be any way on horseback to heaven, surely this is the way. By many troubles, saith the apostle, we must enter into heaven. All that will live godly in Christ Jesu, must suffer persecution. For the world cannot love them that are of God; the devil cannot love his enemies; the world will love none but his own; but you are Christs, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall God's true servants, find peace and favour in antichrist's regiment.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for God's cause; to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in heaven, though in earth you find nothing. The journey is almost past, you are almost in the haven, take on apace, I beseech you, and merrily hoist up your sails. Cast yourself on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with

him now still to the end; he is faithful and will never leave you, nor tempt you, further than he will make you able to bear; yea in the midst of the temptation, he will make an outscape.

Now pray unto him heartily, be thankful of his dignation, rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive, and be mindful of us who are in the vaward,* and by God's grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the ice before you, that you following, may find the way more easy. God grant it may be so, Amen, Amen. Out of prison, by your brother in Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 95.†

## TO MRS. WILKINSON.‡

Almighty God, our most loving Father, increase in your heart, my good mother and dear mistress in the Lord, his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the encouraging and comforting of your faith in these stormy days; as necessary unto us, so profitable if we persist unto the end, which thing God grant unto us, Amen.

My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful unto the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing; I mean, to keep you from all the filth, wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare as you see. But now if he shall bless you with another blessing which is more rare, I mean, to call you forth as a martyr, and as a witness against this filth, I hope you will become doubly thankful.

For a greater token commonly we have not, to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the

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* Vanguard.—*Bailey.* † Fox iii. 333. Cov. 342.

‡ A pious woman who relieved the wants of the reformers. Cranmer advised her to fly.—*Strype Eccl. Mem.* iii. *pt.* i. 226.

cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be so lost; except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless.

You know how that he who was rapt into the third heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say, that as the corn liveth not except it be dead and cast into the earth, so truly our bodies. And therefore the cross should so little alarm us, that even death itself should altogether be desired of us; as the tailor who putteth off our rags, and arrayeth us with the royal robes of immortality, incorruption, and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of God should desire, yea, groan in their kind for our liberty, and we ourselves to lothe it; as doubtless we do, if for the cross, yea, for death itself, we with joy swallow not up all sorrow, that might let us from following the Lord's calling, and obeying the Lord's providence; whereby doubtless all crosses, and death itself, doth come, and not by hap or chance.

In consideration whereof, right dear mother, in that this providence stretcheth itself so unto us and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare ourselves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer ourselves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back; honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us, and all we have, as for his dear children. Be therefore of good cheer, even in the midst of these miseries, be thankful to the Lord, and prepare yourself for a further trial; which if God send you, as I hope, so do you believe, that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen.

And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompense into your bosom, all the good that ever you have done, to me especially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

Your own in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 96.*

## TO MRS. WILKINSON.

The Lord of mercy, in Christ his Son, our Saviour and only comforter, be with you all, now and for ever, Amen.

Although presently I have little time, by reason of this bringer's short departing, and less occasion of necessary matter, to write unto you; yet in that it hath pleased God to offer me more liberty to write than before I had, as this bearer can report, I thought good to signify unto you the same, with the acknowledging of the receipt of your tokens; for the which I neither can nor will go about to flatter you with thanks, in that I know you look for none at mine hands, God being the cause, and his word the end, wherefore you did so. To him I know you would have me thankful, and I beseech you pray that I may so be; and not only thankful for myself and his benefits towards me, but also thankful for you, to whom God hath given to fear his name and love his truth. The which gifts far pass the riches of the world, for they shall perish, and be left we know not unto whom; but the gifts of God, as they last for ever, so they make happy the possessors of the same.

Go to therefore, and pray God to increase them of his goodness; as of his mercy he hath begun them in you, and indeed so he will. For to whom he giveth the earnest of willing, to the same he will give the grace of continuing, if we reject not the same; as we do when we be double-hearted, and part our fear and love; as did the Samaritans, who feared God, and their Adrammelech ;† loved God's religion, and their old country customs, &c.

If this doubleness come on us, that we fear more the world, and couple it with the fear of God; if we love the muck of this world, and couple it with the love of God's religion; then part we stake, then mar we the market, then the spirit of God will depart, then play we as Ananias and Sapphira did, and so sooner or later shall fall to perdition with them.

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* Cov. 343. † 2 Kings, xvii. 31.

But, as I said, I think no such thing of you; I think of you as of God's dear children, whose hearts are whole with the Lord. And therefore I write not this as though you were such, but because it is God's goodness you be not such; because satan would have you such, and because many that were as you now be, are such. Therefore to make you, as thankful, so careful to continue, but yet so that your care be cast all on the Lord, is the only cause I write this, and would write more, but that the bringer cannot tarry. And therefore hastily and abruptly I make an end, beseeching Almighty God, in our Redeemer Jesus Christ, to be with you, and with his Holy Spirit comfort you all, and help my good sister Mrs. W.,* to be a happy and a good mother of the child, of which as yet I hear God hath not delivered her. By your own to use in the Lord for ever.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 97.†

## TO HIS DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD, MRS. W. AND MRS. W.‡

ALMIGHTY God, our dear and most merciful Father, be always with you both, my entirely beloved mother and sister in the Lord; and as his babes, may he for ever keep you unto his eternal kingdom, through Christ our Saviour, Amen.

I purpose not to go about, to render thanks to you for God's great goodness towards me by you, because I cannot. Either of you hath so heaped upon me benefits, that it were hard for me to reckon the tithes. He for whose sake you have done it, and all the good you do, one day recompense you after your heart's desire in him. In the mean season, I beseech him to reveal unto you, more

* No doubt Mrs. Warcup. See Nos. 53 and 58. † Cov. 423.

‡ Most probably Mrs. Wilkinson and Mrs. Warcup.

and more, the riches of his grace, and love in Christ, by whom ye are beloved and were, before the world was, and shall be doubtless world without end.

According to the revelation, and your sense or faith herein, so will you contend to all piety and godliness, as St. John saith; He that hath this hope will purify himself as Christ is pure. For how should it otherwise be, but if we be certainly persuaded that heaven is ours, and we citizens thereof, but, I say, we should desire the dissolution of our bodies, and death to dispatch us, and to do his office upon us? If we did certainly believe we were members of Christ, and God's temples, how should we but fly from all impurity and corruption of the world, which cometh by concupiscence? If we did certainly believe that God indeed, of his mercy in Christ, is become our Father, in that his good will is infinite, and his power according thereto, how could we be afraid of man or devil? How could we doubt of salvation, or any good thing which might make to God's glory, and our own weal?

Now that we should be certain and sure of this, that we are God's children in Christ, mark whether all things teach us not? Behold the creation of this world, and the government* of the same; do not these teach us that God loveth us? And is God's love out of Christ the beloved? Is not his love, as he is, unchangeable? Doth not St. John say, that he loveth to the end whom he loveth? Therefore, I say, the very creatures of God, concerning both their creation and conservation, tell us that God loveth us; that is, that we in Christ be his children and dearlings, although in ourselves, and of ourselves, we be otherwise; viz. children of wrath.

Again, look upon the law of God, and tell me whether it doth not require this certainty of you, viz. that you be God's dear children in Christ? Doth not God plainly affirm and say, I am the Lord thy God? Doth he not charge you to have none other Gods but him? How then can you perish, if God be your God? Doth not that make God no God? Doth not David say, that those people be happy, who have the Lord for their God?

Besides this, look on your belief; do you not profess that you

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* Gubernation.

believe in God your Father Almighty, who wanteth no power to keep you, as he wanted no good will in Christ to choose you? Do you not say that you do believe remission of sins, resurrection of the body, life everlasting, fellowship with the saints, &c. But how do you say you believe this gear, and be not certain thereof? Is not faith a certainty? Is not doubting against faith, as St. James saith? Pray in faith and doubt not, for he that doubteth obtaineth nothing. When Peter began to doubt, he had like to have been drowned; beware of it therefore.

Moreover, for to certify your consciences, that you be God's children, and shall never finally perish, through God's goodness in Christ; behold your Head, your Captain, I mean, Christ Jesus. Wherefore came he into this world, but to redeem you? to marry you unto himself? to destroy the works of satan? to save and seek that which was lost? Wherefore suffered he so great and bitter passions? was it not to take away your sins? Wherefore did he rise from death? was it not to justify you? Wherefore did he ascend into heaven? was it not to take possession there for you? to lead your captivity captive? to prepare and make ready all things for you? to appear before the Father, always praying for you? If these be true, as they be most true, why then stand you in a doubt? Do you not thereby deny Christ? Wherefore were you born of christian parents and in God's Church, but because you were God's children by Christ, before you were born? For this cause you were baptized, and hitherto the Lord hath thus dealt with you, sparing you, correcting you, and blessing you. But why? Verily because you be his children, and shall be for ever, through Christ.

Tell me, why hath God kept you till this time, but that he will for his sake have you even here made like unto Christ, that elsewhere you may so be? Why hath he opened your eyes from popery, but because you be his children indeed? When you pray, do you not call him Father? Why do you doubt of it then? Why will you believe the devil more than God your Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? more than the holy word of God, both in the law and in the Gospel? more than all the blessings and castigations of God? Do not all these preach to you and tell you, that you are God's babes through Christ? Therefore, my dearly beloved, believe

it, and give not place to the devil, but withstand him strong in faith. Say with the poor man; I believe, Lord, help my unbelief. Say with the apostles; Lord, increase our faith.

This, mine own hearts in the Lord, I write not that you should live more securely and carnally, doing as the spiders do, who gather poison where bees gather honey; but that, as the elect of God, you might live in all purity, godliness, and peace; which God increase in us all for his Christ's sake, Amen,

I pray you heartily, pray for us, that to the very end we may, as I hope we shall, go lustily and cheerfully whithersoever our heavenly Father shall bring and lead us. His will, which is always good, be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Amen.

Your brother in bonds, for the testimony of Jesus Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 98.*

## TO HIS GOOD BROTHER, JOHN CARELESS,†

*Prisoner in the King's Bench.*

The Father of mercy, and God of all comfort, visit us with his eternal consolation, according to his great mercies in Jesus Christ, our Saviour, Amen.

My very dear brother, if I shall report the truth unto you, I cannot but signify that since I came into prison, I never received so much consolation as I did by your last letter, the name of God be most heartily praised therefore. But if I shall report the truth unto you, and as I have began, speak still the verity; I must confess that for mine unthankfulness to youwards and to God especially, I have

* Fox iii. 336. Cov. 373.

† Another of that illustrious band of christian heroes, whose lives were sacrificed for the truths of the Gospel.—*Acts and Mon. vol.* iii. *pp.* 713. 732.

more need of God's merciful tidings, than I ever had heretofore. Oh, that satan envieth us so greatly. Oh, that our Lord would tread his head under our feet shortly. Oh, that I might for ever, both myself beware, and be a godly example to you and others, to beware of unthankfulness.

Good brother Careless, we had more need to take heed after a lightning, of a foil than before. God therefore is to be praised, even when he hideth, and that of long, a cheerful countenance from us; lest we being not expert how to use it as we should do, do hurt more ourselves thereby; so great is our ignorance and corruption. This my good brother, and right dear to my very heart, I write unto you as to one whom in the Lord I embrace, and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourselves united unto him in Christ, so by love we may feel ourselves linked in the same Christ one to another, I to you, and you to me, we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us, Amen, Amen.

Commend me unto your good brother Skelthrop, for whom I heartily praise my God, who hath given him to see his truth at the length, and to give place to it. I doubt not but that he will be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance may even thereby think themselves astray. Woe and woe again should be unto us, if we by our example should make men to stumble at the truth. Forget not salutations in Christ, as you shall think good, to Trew, and his fellows. The Lord hath his time, I hope, for them also, although we perchance think otherwise.* A drop maketh a stone hollow, not with once but with often dropping; so if with hearty prayer for them and good example, you still and drop upon them as you can, you shall see God's work at the length. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all, Amen. I desire you all to pray for me, the most unworthy prisoner of the Lord.

Your brother,

JOHN BRADFORD.

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* We have here another evidence of the kind and anxious feeling, our martyr entertained for those, who differed from him upon points which he considered of great importance. See Appendix, Note (M.)

## No. 99.*

## TO THE SAME.

ALMIGHTY God, our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, be merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the wings of his mercy, protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever, Amen.

Dear brother Careless, I heartily pray you, to pray to God for me, for the pardon of my manifold sins, and most grievous offences, which need none other demonstration unto you than this, viz. that I have behaved myself so negligently in answering your godly triple letters, which are three witnesses against me. God lay not them, nor any other thing to my charge, to condemnation; though to correction, not my will, but his will be done.

Concerning your request of absolution, my dearest brother, what shall I say, but even as truth is, that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort; through the merits and mediation of his dear Son, thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences, whatsoever they be, that ever hitherto thou hast committed against HIS majesty; and therefore he hath given to thee, as to his child, dear brother John Careless, in token that thy sins are pardoned; HE, I say, hath given unto thee, a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which desireth to repent and believe; for such a one is taken of him, he accepting the will for the deed, for a penitent and believing heart indeed.

Wherefore, my good brother, be merry, glad, and of good cheer, for the Lord hath taken away thy sins; thou shalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy sins. The east is not so far from the west, as the Lord hath now put thy sins from thee. Look how high the heavens be in comparison of the earth, so far hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his dear child, John Careless, through Christ the beloved. Say therefore with David, Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy

* Fox iii. 718.

name; for he hath forgiven thee all thy sins; as truly he hath. And hereof I desire to be a witness. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true message for myself.

Mine own dearly beloved, you have great cause to thank God most heartily, that he hath given you such repentance and faith; the Lord increase the same in you and me, a most miserable wretch, whose heart is harder than the adamant stone, or else I could not thus long have stayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpose and promise you to make amends. Pray for me, my most dear brother, I heartily beseech you, and forgive me my long silence. God our Father, be with us for ever, Amen.*

Yours in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 100.†

*To his dear Brother in the Lord,* M. RICHARD HOPKINS, *and his Wife, dwelling in Coventry, and other his faithful Brethren and Sisters, Professors of God's Holy Gospel, there and thereabouts.*‡

THE peace which Christ left to his Church, and to every true member of the same, the Holy Spirit, the guide of God's children; so engraft in your heart, and in the heart of your good wife, and of all my good brethren and sisters about you; that unfeignedly ye may in respect thereof, contemn all worldly peace, which is contrary to that peace that I speak of; and driveth it utterly out of the hearts of all those, who would patch them both together. For we cannot serve two masters; no man can serve God and mammon; Christ's peace cannot be kept with this world's peace. God therefore of his mercy do I beseech, to give unto you his peace, which passeth all

* See Appendix, Note (I. I.) † Cov. 345.

‡ This is the same letter, which Dr. Gilbert Ironside published *as an original,* at the end of Bishop Ridley's disputation, &c.

understanding; and so keep your hearts and minds, that they may be pure habitations and mansions for the Holy Spirit, yea for the blessed Trinity, who hath promised to come and dwell in all them that love Christ, and keep his sayings.

My dearly beloved, the time is now come wherein trial is made of men that have professed to love Christ, and would have been counted keepers of his testimonies. But weal away, the tenth person persevereth not; the more part do part stakes with the papists and protestants, so that they are become mangy mongrels, to the infecting of all who company with them, and to their no small peril. For they pretend outwardly popery, going to mass with the papists, and tarrying with them personally at their anti-christian and idolatrous service,* but with their hearts, *say they*, and with their spirits they serve the Lord. And by this means, as they save their pigs, I mean their worldly pelf; so they would please the protestants, and be counted with them for gospellers, yea marry would they.

But, mine own beloved in the Lord, flee from such persons, as from men most perilous and pernicious, both before God and man;

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* Could it have been believed that British statesmen would ever be found, who would cashier and persecute to ruin, exemplary British officers, for conscientiously refusing to defile themselves with this antichristian idolatry? No wonder that a government adopting such conduct has been overturned with disgrace; and may all the abettors of such principles share their justly merited fate. No better indeed could be expected from those, who during the whole of the Peninsular war, without scruple attended mass themselves; but how was it that not a single protestant bishop, not a single protestant peer, even of those who were so justly and meritoriously opposed to that inefficient, inexpedient, delusive and ruinous measure, the infamous Relief Bill, as it has been falsely called. Nay not even Lord Eldon, though a member of the cabinet at the time, did not attempt to throw a shield over those persecuted and meritorious officers! We scarcely need add we allude to the case of Capt. Atcheson.† And yet these are the men who, after having overthrown the palladium of the Constitution, by conceding political power to the papists; in order to defeat a great public question, or more correctly to repossess themselves of their places, and reinstate their friends in the hereditary monopoly of places and pensions; now dare to cry out, the Church, the Church, the Protestant Church is in danger!—and these are the men too, with whom certain other individuals, who ought to know better, think it right to tamper and enter into a most unhallowed association.

† See Atcheson's Petition to the late King, and Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington.—*London*, 1829.

for they are false to both, and true to neither. To the magistrates they are false, pretending one thing and meaning clean contrary. To God they are most untrue, giving him but a piece, who should have the whole. I would they would tell me, who made their bodies? Did not God, as well as their spirits and souls? And who keepeth both? Doth not he still? And alas, shall not he have the service of the body, but it must be given to serve the new-found God, of antichrist's invention? Did not Christ buy both our souls and bodies? And wherewith? With any less price than with his precious blood? Ah, wretches then that we be, if we will defile either part, with the rose-coloured whore of Babylon's filthy mass abomination. It had been better for us never to have been washed, than so to wallow ourselves in the filthy puddle of popery. It had been better never to have known the truth, than thus to betray it. Surely, surely, let such men fear that their latter end be not worse than the beginning. Their own consciences now accuse them before God, if so be they have any conscience, that they are but dissemblers and hypocrites to God and man. For all the cloaks they make, they cannot avoid this, but that their going to church and to mass, is of self-love; that is, they go thither because they would avoid the cross. They go thither because they would be out of trouble. They seek neither the Queen's Highness, nor her laws, which in this point cannot bind the conscience to obey, because they are contrary to God's laws, which often bid us to flee idolatry, and worshipping him after men's devices. They seek neither, I say, the laws, if there were any, neither their brethren's commodity; for none cometh thereby, neither godliness or good example, for there can be none found in going to mass, &c., but horrible offences and woe to them that give them; but they seek their own selves, their own ease, their escaping the cross, &c. When they have made all the excuses they can, their own consciences will accuse them of this, that their going to church is only because they seek themselves. For if there would no trouble ensue for tarrying away, I appeal to their consciences, would they come thither? Never, I dare say.

Therefore, as I said, they seek themselves, they would not carry the cross. And hereof their own consciences, if they have any do accuse them. Now if their consciences accuse them at this pre-

sent, what will they do before the judgment seat of Christ? Who will then excuse it, when Christ shall appear in judgment, and shall begin to be ashamed of them there, who now are ashamed of him here? Who then, I say, will excuse these mass gospellers' consciences? Will the Queen's Highness? She shall then have more to do for *herself*, than without hearty and speedy repentance, she can ever be able to answer; though Peter, Paul, Mary, James, John the Pope, and all his prelates take her part, with all the singing Sir Johns that ever were, are, or shall be. Will the Lord Chancellor, and prelates of the realm, excuse them there? Nay, nay, they are like then to smart for it so sore, as I would not be in their places for all the whole world. Will the laws of the realm, the nobility, gentlemen, justices of peace, &c. excuse our gospel massmongers' consciences then? Nay, God knoweth they can do little there but quake and fear for the heavy vengeance of God, like to fall upon them. Will their goods, lands, and possessions, the which they, by their dissembling have saved, will these serve to excuse them? No, no, God is no merchant, as our mass priests be. Will masses, or trentals, or such trash serve? No, verily, the haunters of this gear shall then be horribly ashamed. Will the Catholic Church excuse them? Nay, it will most of all accuse them, as will all the good fathers, patriarchs, apostles, prophets, martyrs, confessors, and saints, with all the good doctors, and good general councils.

All these already condemn the mass, and all who ever use it as it is now, being of all idols that ever was, the most abominable, and blasphemous to Christ and his priesthood, manhood, and sacrifice;† for it maketh the priest that saith mass, God's fellow and better than Christ, for the offerer is always better or equivalent to the thing offered. If therefore the priest take upon him there to offer up Christ, as they boldly affirm they do, then must he needs be better, or equal with Christ. Oh that they would shew but one iota of the Scripture of God calling them to this dignity, or of their authority to offer up Christ for the quick and dead, and to apply the benefit and virtue of his death and passion to whom they will.

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* "Popery was the masterpiece of satan. I believe him utterly incapable of such another contrivance."—*Cecil's Remains*, 175.

Surely if this were true, as it is most false and blasphemous, prate they at their pleasure to the contrary; then it made no matter at all, whether Christ were our friend or no, if so be the mass priest were our friend; for he can apply Christ's merits to us by his mass if he will, and when he will, and therefore we need little to care for Christ's friendship. They can *make him** when they will, and where they will. Lo, here he is! there he is! say they! but believe them not saith Christ, believe them not, believe them not saith HE. For in his human nature and body, which was made of the Virgin's body, and not of bread; in this body, I say, HE IS, and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty in heaven, from where and not from the pix, shall he come to judge both the quick and dead.

In the mean season, heaven, saith St. Peter, must receive him; and as Paul saith, He prayeth for us, and now is not seen elsewhere, or otherwise seen, than by faith there; until he shall be seen as he is, to the salvation of them that look for his coming, which I trust is not far off. For if the day of the Lord drew near, in the apostles' time, which is now above fifteen hundred years past, it cannot be, I trust, long hence now; I trust our redeemer's coming is at hand.† Then these mass sayers and seers, shall shake and cry to the hills, Hide us from the fierce wrath of the Lamb, if they repent not in time.

Then will neither gold, nor goods; friendship nor fellowship; lordship nor authority, power nor pleasure, *unity* nor *antiquity*, custom nor council, doctors, devils, nor any man's device serve. The word which the Lord hath spoken, in that day shall judge; the word, I say, of God in that day shall judge.

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* See Appendix, Note (KK.)

† And it follows that the great event, is now three hundred years nearer to its consummation. Yet as the apostles foretold, so in these latter times we find infidels and scoffers, who tauntingly exclaim, "Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." But as the apostle adds, "such are *willingly* ignorant that by the word of God, the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water, and in the water. Whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.—2 *Pet.* iii. 4.—7.

And what saith it of idolatry and idolaters? saith it not, flee from it? and further, that they shall be damned? Oh terrible sentence to all mass-mongers, and worshippers of things, made with the hands of bakers, carpenters, &c.* This Word of God knoweth no more oblations or sacrifices for sin, but one only, which Christ himself offered, never more to be re-offered; but in remembrance thereof his supper to be eaten sacramentally and spiritually, according to Christ's institution; which is so perverted now that there is nothing in it, simply according to the judge, I mean the Word of God. It were good for men to agree with their adversary, the Word of God, now whilst they be in the way with it; lest if they linger, it will deliver them to the judge Christ, who will commit them to the jailor, and so they shall be cast into prison, and never come out thence till they have paid the uttermost farthing, that is never.

My dearly beloved, therefore mark the word, hearken to the word; it alloweth no massing, no such sacrificing nor worshipping of Christ with tapers, candles, copes, canopies, &c. It alloweth no Latin service, no images in the temples, no praying to dead saints, no praying for the dead. It alloweth no such dissimulation, as a great many use now outwardly. If any withdraw himself, My soul, saith the Holy Ghost, shall have no pleasure in him.

It alloweth not the love of this world, which maketh men many times, to act against their consciences; for in them that love the world, the love of God abideth not. It alloweth not gatherers elsewhere than with Christ, but saith they scatter abroad. It alloweth no lukewarm gentlemen, but if JEHOVAH be GOD, then follow him; if Baal, and *a piece of bread*, be GOD, then follow it,

It alloweth not faith in the heart, that hath not confession in the mouth. It alloweth no disciples who will not deny themselves, and who will not take up their cross, and follow Christ. It alloweth not the seeking of ourselves, or of our own ease and commodity. It alloweth not the more part but the better part. It alloweth not *unity*†

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* See Appendix, Note (CC.)

† See the vaunting claim of the See of Rome to be the CENTRE of UNITY thoroughly repudiated and exposed in Bishop Hall's Peace of Rome.—*London*, 1609.—A most valuable tract, unaccountably omitted by M. Pratt, in his edition of that excellent prelate's works.

except it be in *verity*. It alloweth no obedience to any, which cannot be done without disobedience to God. It alloweth no Church that is not the spouse of Christ, and hearkeneth not to his voice only. It alloweth no doctor that speaketh against it. It alloweth no general council that followeth not in all things.

Summa, it alloweth no angel, much more then any such, as would teach any other thing than Moses, the prophets, Christ Jesus, and his apostles have taught and left us to look upon, in the written Word of God, the holy books of the Bible; but curseth all that teach, not only contrary, but also any other doctrine. It saith they are fools, unwise, and proud, who will not consent to the sound word and doctrine of Christ, and his apostles; and biddeth and commandeth us to flee from such.

Therefore obey this commandment, company not with them, especially in their church service, but flee from them; for in what thing consent they to Christ's doctrine? He biddeth us pray in a tongue to edify; *they* command contrary. He biddeth us call upon his Father, in his name, when we pray; *they* bid us run to Mary, Peter, &c. He biddeth us to use his supper in the remembrance of his death and passion, preaching it out till it come, whereby he doth us to wit, that corporally he is not there, in the form of bread; therefore, saith Paul, *till he come*. He willeth us to eat of the bread, calling it bread after consecration; and drink of that cup *all*,* making no exception, so that we do it worthily; that is, take it as the sacrament of his body and blood, broken and shed for our sins, and not as the body itself, and blood itself, without bread, without wine; but as the sacrament of his body and blood, whereby he doth represent, and to our faith give and obsign unto us, himself wholly, with all the merits and glory of his body and blood. But *they* utterly forbid the use of the supper, to all but to their shavelings, except it be once in the year, and then also the cup *they* take from us; *they* never preach forth the Lord's death but in mockery and moes. *They* take away all the sacrament by their transubstantiation, for they take away the element, and so the sacra-

* Bibite ex hoc OMNES!—*Vulg. Matt.* xxvi. 27.

ment. To be short, *they* most horribly abuse this holy ordinance of the Lord, by adoration, reservation, oblation, ostentation, &c.

In nothing are *they* contented with the simplicity of God's word. *They* add to and take from it at their pleasure, and therefore the plagues of God will fall upon them at the length, and upon all that will take their part. *They* seek not Christ, nor his glory, for you see they have utterly cast away his word; and therefore, as the prophet saith, there is no wisdom in them. *They* follow the strumpet Church, and bawdy spouse of Christ, which they call the Catholic Church; whose foundation and pillars, is the devil, and his daughter, the mass, with his children, the Pope and his prelates. *Their* laws are craft and cruelty; *their* weapons are lying and murder; their end and study is their own glory, fame, wealth, rest, and possessions.

For if a man speak nor do nothing against these, though he be a Sodomite, an adulterer, an usurer, &c., it forceth not, he shall be quiet enough, no man shall trouble him. But if any one speak any thing to God's glory, which cannot stand without the overthrow of man's glory; then shall he be disquieted, imprisoned, and troubled, except he will play mum, and put his finger upon his mouth, although the same be a most quiet and godly man. So that easily a man may see, how that they be antichrist's Church, and sworn soldiers to the Pope and his spouse, and not to Christ and his Church; for then would they not cast away God's word, then would they be no more adversaries to his glory, which chiefly consisteth in obedience to his word.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, seem not to allow this, or any part of the pelf of this Romish Church, and synagogue of satan. Halt not on both knees, for halting will bring you out of the way; but like valiant champions of the Lord, confess, confess I say, with your mouth, as occasion serveth, and as your vocation requireth, the hope and faith you have and feel in your heart.

But you will say, that so to do is perilous, you shall by that means lose your liberty, your lands, your goods, your friends, your name, your life, &c., and so shall your children be left in miserable state, &c. To this I answer, my good brethren, that you have

professed in baptism, to fight under the standard of your Captain Christ, and will you now, for peril's sake, leave your Lord? You made a solemn vow, that you would forsake the world, and will you be forsworn, and run to embrace it now? You swore and promised to leave all and follow Christ, and will you now leave him for your father, your mother, your children, your lands, your life, &c? He that hateth not these, saith Christ, is not worthy of me. He that forsaketh not these and himself also, and withall taketh not up his cross and followeth him, the same shall be none of his disciples.

Therefore, either bid Christ adieu, be forsworn, and run to the devil quick, or else say, as a christian should say, that wife, children, goods, life, &c. are not to be dear unto you in respect of Christ, who is your portion and inheritance. Let the worldlings, who have no hope of eternal life, fear perils of loss of lands, goods, life, &c. Here is not our home, we are here but pilgrims and strangers; this life is but the desert and wilderness to the land of rest. We look for a city, whose workman is God himself. We are now dwellers in the tents of Kedar. We are now in warfare, in travail and labour, whereto we were born, as the bird to fly. We sorrow and sigh, desiring the dissolution of our bodies, and the putting off of corruption, that we might put on incorruption.

The way we walk in is strait and narrow, and therefore not easy to our enemy, the corrupt flesh; but yet we must walk on, for if we hearken to our enemy, we shall be served not friendly. Let them walk the wide way, who are ruled by their enemies; let us be ruled by our friends, and walk the strait way, whose end is weal, as the other is woe. The time of our suffering is but short, as the time of their ease is not long; but the time of our rejoicing shall be endless, as the time of their torments shall be ever, and intolerable. Our breakfast is sharp, but our supper is sweet. The afflictions of this life may not be compared in any part, to the glory that shall be revealed unto us. This is certain, if we suffer with Christ, we shall reign with him; if we confess him, he will confess us, and that before his Father in heaven, and all his angels and saints, saying, Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning. There shall be joy, mirth, pleasure, solace, melody, and all kind of beatitude and felicity; such as the eye hath

not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able in any point to conceive it, as it is.

In respect of this, and of the joy set before us, should not we run our race, though it be something rough? Did not Moses so, the prophets so, Christ so, the apostles so, the martyrs so, and the confessors so? They were drunk with the sweetness of this gear, and therefore they contemned all that man or devil could do to them. Their souls thirsted after the Lord and his tabernacles, and therefore their lives and goods were not too dear to them. Read the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, and 2 *Maccabees* vii., and let us go the same way, that is, by many tribulations. Let us labour to enter into the kingdom of heaven; for all who will live godly in Christ Jesu, must suffer persecution.

Think therefore the cross, if it come for confession of Christ, no strange thing to God's children; but rather take it as the Lord's medicine, by the which he helpeth our infirmities, and setteth forth his glory. Our sins have deserved cross upon cross; now if God give us his cross to suffer for his truth and confessing him, as he doth by it bury our sins; so doth he glorify us, making us like to Christ here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if we be partakers of the affliction, we shall be partakers of the consolation; if we be like in ignominy, we shall be like in glory. Great cause we have to give thanks to God, for lending us liberty, lands, goods, wife, children, life, &c. thus long; so that we shall be guilty of ingratitude, if he now shall come and take the same away, except we be cheerful and content.

God hath given, and God hath taken away, saith Job, as it pleaseth the Lord, so be it done. And should not we do this, especially when the Lord taketh these away of love to try us, and prove us, whether we be faithful loves or strumpets, that is, whether we love him better than his gifts, or otherwise? This is a truth of all truths to be laid up in our hearts, that that is not lost, which seemeth so to be for the confession of Christ. In this life your children shall find God's plentiful blessing upon them, when you are gone, and all your goods taken away. God is so good, that he helpeth the young ravens, before they can fly, and feedeth them when their dams have most unkindly left them. And trow ye, that

God who is the God of the widows, and fatherless children, will not especially have a care for the babes of his dear saints, who die, or lose any thing for conscience to him?

Oh, my dearly beloved, look up therefore with the eyes of faith. Consider not things present, but rather things to come. Be content now to go, whither God shall gird and lead us. Let us now cast ourselves wholly into his hands, with our wives, children, and all that ever we have. Let us be sure, the hairs of our head are numbered, so that one hair shall not perish, without the good will of our dear Father, who hath commanded his angels to pitch their tents about us; and in their hands, to take and hold us up, that we shall not hurt, so much as our foot, against a stone.

Let us use earnest prayer; let us heartily repent; let us hearken diligently to God's word; let us keep ourselves pure from all uncleanness, both of spirit and body; let us flee from all evil, and all appearance of evil; let us be diligent in our vocation, and in doing good to all men, especially to them who be of the household of faith; let us live in peace with all men, as much as is in us. And the Lord of peace give us his peace, and that for evermore, Amen. I pray you remember me, your poor afflicted brother, in your hearty prayers to God. This second of September.

JOHN BRADFORD.*

## No. 101.†

## TO M. RICHARD HOPKINS,‡

*Then Sheriff of Coventry, and Prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant confessing of God's Holy Gospel.*

Dearly beloved in the Lord, I wish unto you, as unto mine own brother, yea, as to mine own heart-root, God's mercy, and the feeling

* See Appendix, Note (LL.)

† Fox iii. 340. Cov. 354. ‡ See Appendix, Note (MM.)

of the same, plentifully in Christ, our sweet Saviour; who gave himself a ransom for our sins, and price for our redemption, praised therefore be his holy name, for ever and ever, Amen.

I will not go about to excuse myself, for not sending unto you hitherto, suffering for the Lord's sake as you do, to the comfort of me, and of all that love you in the truth; but rather accuse myself, both before God and you, desiring of you forgiveness, and with me to pray to God, for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you; and all other my sins, which I beseech the Lord in his mercy to do away, for his Christ's sake, Amen.

Now to make amends to youward, I would be glad if I could, but because I cannot, I shall heartily desire you to accept the will, and this which I shall now write unto you, thereafter; I mean, after my will, and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this present, my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a blessed state, although it seem otherwise to you, or rather unto your old Adam; the which I dare now be so bold as to discern from you, because you would have him not only discerned, but also utterly destroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true. Now his word pronounceth of your state, that it is happy, therefore it must needs be so.

To prove this, I think it need not; for you know that the Holy Ghost saith, that they are happy who suffer for righteousness' sake, and that God's glory and Spirit, rest on them who suffer for conscience to God. Now this you cannot but know, that this your suffering is for righteousness' sake, and for conscience to Godwards; for else you might be out of trouble, even out of hand. I know in very deed, that you have and feel your unthankfulness to God and other sins, to witness to you, that you have deserved this imprisonment, and lack of liberty betwixt God and yourself; and I would you so would confess unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon, and thanksgiving for his correcting you here. But you know that the magistrates do not persecute in you your sins, your unthankfulness, &c.; but they persecute in you Christ himself, his righteousness, his verity, and therefore happy be you, who have found such favour with God your Father, as to account you worthy to suffer for his sake, in the sight of man. Surely you shall rejoice therefore one day, with a joy unspeakable, in the sight of man also.

You may think yourself born in a blessed time, who have found this grace with God, to be a vessel of honour to suffer with his saints, yea, with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done so with many. The apostle saith, Not many noble, not many rich, not many wise in the world, hath the Lord God chosen. Oh then, what cause have you to rejoice, that amongst *the not many*, he hath chosen you to be *one*. For this cause hath God placed you in your office, that therefore you might the more see, his special dignation and love towards you. It had not been so great a thing, for M. Hopkins to have suffered, as M. Hopkins; as it is for M. Hopkins also to suffer, as M. Sheriff. Oh, happy day that you were made Sheriff, by the which, as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree ; so by suffering in this room* he hath exalted you in heaven, and in the sight of his Church, and children, to a much more excellent glory.

When was it read that a Sheriff of a city hath suffered for the Lord's sake? Where read we of any Sheriff, who hath been cast into prison for conscience to Godwards? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, than herein he hath done? To the end of the world it shall be written for a memorial to your praise, that RICHARD HOPKINS, SHERIFF OF COVENTRY, FOR CONSCIENCE TO DO HIS OFFICE BEFORE GOD, WAS CAST INTO THE FLEET, AND THERE KEPT A PRISONER A LONG TIME.

Happy, and twice happy are you, if herefore you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this promotion, on this sort, out of that office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but especially to magistrates in this realm? Who would ever have thought, that you should have been the first magistrate, who for Christ's sake should have lost any thing? As I said before therefore, I say again, that your state is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth unto you, my conscience bearing me witness, that you are in a most happy state with the Lord, and before his sight.

Be thankful therefore, rejoice in your trouble, pray for patience, persevere to the end, let patience have her perfect work. If you

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* FOX. Roume.—Cov.

want this wisdom and power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope still in him, yea, if he should slay you, yet trust in him with Job, and you shall perceive that the end will be, to find him merciful and full of compassion; for he will not break promise with you, who hitherto did never so with any.

He is with you in trouble, he heareth you calling upon him; yea, before you call, your desires are not only known, but accepted through Christ. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is most true, he is coming and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he seem to tarry, yet stand you still, and you shall see the wonderful works of the Lord.

Oh, my beloved, wherefore should you be heavy? Is not Christ, Immanuel, God with us? Shall you not find that as he is true in saying, In the world you shall have trouble; so is he in saying, In me you shall have comfort? He doth not swear only that trouble will come, but withal he sweareth that comfort shall ensue. And what comfort? Such a comfort as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. Oh, great comfort; who shall have this? Forsooth, they that suffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea, verily are you. Then, as I said, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. You now suffer with the Lord, surely you shall be glorified with him. Call upon God therefore now in your trouble, and he will hear you; yea, deliver you in such sort, as most shall make both to his and your glory also. And in this calling, I heartily pray you to pray for me, your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high way to heaven, for by many afflictions must we enter in thither; whither God bring us for his mercy's sake, Amen. Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 102.*

## TO HIS GOOD SISTER, MRS. ELIZABETH BROWN.

Good sister, God our Father make perfect the good he hath begun in you, unto the end.

I am afraid to write unto you, because you so overcharge yourself at all times, even whensoever I do but send to you commendations. I would be more bold on you, than on many others; and therefore you might suspend so great tokens, till I should write unto you of my need; which thing doubtless I would do, if it urged me.

Dear sister, I see your unfeigned love to mewards in God, and have done of long time; the which I do recompense with the like, and will do by God's grace, so long as I live; and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in remembrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwise I can do you no service, except it be now and then by my writing, to let you from better exercise; where yet the end of my writing is to excite and stir up your heart more earnestly, to go on forwards in your well-begun enterprise.

For you know none shall be crowned, but such as strive lawfully; and none receive the gleve, but those who run to the appointed mark. None shall be saved, but such as persist and continue to the very end! Wherefore, dear sister, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promise. Patience and perseverance be the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. They that persevere not, were always but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea, their progress seemeth marvellous, but yet, after the end, they fail. These were never of us, saith St. John, for if they had been of us, they would have continued to the very end.

Go to therefore, mine own beloved in the Lord; as you have well begun, and well gone forward, so well persist and happily end,

* Fox iii. 341. Cov. 412.

and then all is yours. Though this be sharp and sour, yet it is not tedious or long. Do all that ever you do, simply for God, and as to God; so shall never unkindness, nor any other thing, make you to leave off from well doing, so long as you may do well.

Accustom yourself now, to see God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things, behold his mercy, and apply it unto yourself. In evil things and plagues, behold his judgments; wherethrough learn to fear him. Beware of sin, as the serpent of the soul, which spoileth us of all our ornature and seemly apparel, in God's sight. Let Christ crucified be your book to study on, and that both night and day. Mark your vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof; use hearty and earnest prayer, and that in spirit. In all things give thanks to God, our Father, through Christ. Labour to have here, life everlasting begun in you; for else it will not be elsewhere enjoyed. Set God's judgment often before your eyes, that now examining yourself, you may make diligent suit, and obtain never to come into judgment.

Uncover your evils to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this antichristian trash, defile not yourself in soul or body therewith; but accomplish holiness in the fear of God, and bear no yoke with unbelievers. Look for the coming of the Lord, which is at hand; by earnest prayer, and godly life, hasten it. God, our Father, accomplish his good work in you. Amen.

Commend me to my good mother Mrs. Wilkinson, and to my very dear sister Mrs. Warcup. I shall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you to do the like to me.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 103.*

## TO THE SAME.

Good Sister, I beseech God to make perfect the good which he hath begun in you, unto the very end, Amen.

* Cov. 413.

This life more and more waxeth unto us, as it should be, that is a miserable life, a weeping life, a woful life; and therefore let us long for our happy life, our laughing life, our joyful life; which we shall enjoy, and then have in very deed, when we depart by death out of this dangerous state wherein we now are, by reason of this sinful flesh, which we carry about us. Therefore let us prepare ourselves accordingly, and in misery and sorrow, be glad through hope.

Now we are dispersed, but we shall be gathered together again there, where we shall never part, but always be together in joy eternal. In hope hereof, let us bear with better will, our bitter burdens which we feel, and shall feel in this miserable world. We have cause to thank God, that maketh this world unto us a wilderness. If so be therein we be patient, kiss God's rod, and humble ourselves before God; assuredly we shall come into the most pleasant land of rest.

Wherefore, good sister, as I said, I say again, be merry with sorrow, rejoice in hope, be patient in trouble, pray in affliction; and amongst others, I pray you heartily pray for me, that God would forgive me my unthankfulness, not only against you, which is great indeed; but also against all his people, and especially against his own Majesty. As I can, I shall commend you, unto the tuition of our shepherd Christ, who always keep us as his lambs, for his holy name's sake, Amen.

Your afflicted brother,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 104.*

## TO A FRIEND,

*Instructing him, how he should answer his Adversaries.*

My good brother, our merciful God and dear Father through Christ, open your eyes effectually to see, and your heart ardently to

* Fox iii. 342. Cov. 389.

desire the everlasting joy, which he has prepared for his slaughter sheep, that is, for such as shrink not from his truth for any such storm's sake, Amen.

When you shall come before the magistrates, to give an answer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence and simplicity. And because you may be something afraid, by the power of the magistrates, and cruelty which they will threaten against you; I would have you set before you the good father Moses, to follow his example; for he set the invincible God before his eyes of faith, and with them looked upon God, and his glorious majesty and power; as with his corporal eyes, he saw Pharaoh and all his fearful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved, let your inward eyes give such light unto you, that as you know you are before the magistrates, so and much more, you and they also are present before the face of God; who will give such wisdom to you, fearing him and seeking his praise, as the enemies shall wonder at; and further he will so order their hearts and doings, that they shall, will they, nill they, serve God's providence towards you; which you cannot avoid though you would, as shall be most to his glory and your everlasting comfort.

Therefore, my good brother, let your whole study be, only to please God, put him always before your eyes, for he is on your right hand, lest you should be moved; he is faithful and never will suffer you to be tempted, above that he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of your head he hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish without his good will; which cannot be but good unto you, in that he has become your father through Christ, and therefore as he hath given you to believe in him, (God increase his belief in us all,) so now doth he graciously give unto you to suffer for his name's sake; the which you ought with all thankfulness to receive, in that you are made worthy to drink of the self-same cup, which not only the very Son of God has drank of before you, but even the very natural Son of God himself, hath brought you good luck. Oh, may he of his mercy, make us thankful to pledge him again. Amen.

Because the chiefest matter they will trouble you, and go about to deceive you withal, is the sacrament; not of Christ's body and blood, but of the altar as they call it, thereby destroying the sacrament which Christ instituted; I would have you note these two

things. First, that the sacrament of the altar, which the priest offereth in the mass, and eateth privately with himself, is not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, instituted by him; as Christ's institution, plainly written and set forth in the Scriptures, being compared with their using of it, doth plainly declare.

Again, if they talk with you of Christ's sacrament instituted by him, whether it be Christ's body or no, answer them; that as to the eyes of your reason, to your taste, and corporal senses, it is bread and wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it so, *after the consecration;* even so to the eyes, taste, and senses of your faith, which ascendeth to the right hand of God in heaven, where Christ sitteth, it is in very deed, Christ's body and blood; which spiritually your soul feedeth upon to everlasting life, in faith, and by faith, even as your body presently feedeth, on the sacramental bread and sacramental wine.

By this means, as you shall not allow transubstantiation, nor none of their popish opinions; so shall you declare the sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reason, as the papists make it. For they deny God's omnipresence, in that they say, Christ is not there, if bread be there; but faith looketh on the omnipotence of God, joined with his promise, and doubteth not, but that Christ is able to give that which he promiseth us spiritually by faith, the bread still remaining in substance, as well as if the substance of bread were taken away; for Christ saith not in any place, This is no bread.

But of this gear, God shall instruct you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power and wisdom of his Spirit; which undoubtedly as you are bound to look for, praying for it, so he hath bound himself by his promise to give it; the which thing may he grant unto us both, and to all his people, for his name's sake, through Christ, our Lord, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 105.*

# TO CERTAIN GODLY MEN,

*Whom Bradford exhorteth to be patient under the cross, and constant in the true doctrine, which they had professed.*

My dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare; so I pray God I and you may continue in his true service, that perpetually we may enjoy the same welfare, as here in hope, so in heaven indeed, and eternally.

You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place, wherein God trieth his children; and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you; so I trust you know not it; that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will seem so to do, although by many, you may be occasioned thereto. For this hot sun, which now shineth, burneth so sore, that the corn which is sown upon sand and stony ground, beginneth to wither; that is, many who beforetimes we took for hearty gospellers, begin now, for the fear of affliction, to relent; yea, to turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring, that though they go from amongst us, yet were they never of us; for else they would have still tarried with us, and neither for gain nor loss, have left us either in word or deed.

As for their heart, which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger to God's curse, we have as much with us, as the papists have with them, and more too, by their own judgment. For they, playing wily, beguile themselves, thinking it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they curry favour. What though with my body, say they, I do this or that, God knoweth my heart is whole with him. Ah brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why dost thou not confess and declare thyself accordingly, by word and fact? Either that which thou sayest thou believest in thy heart, is good or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be evil,

* Fox iii. 343. Cov. 419.

why dost thou keep it in thy heart? Is not God able to defend thee, adventuring thyself for his cause? Or will not he defend his worshippers? Doth not the Scripture say that the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear him, and trust in his mercy? And whereto? Forsooth, to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

If this be true, as it is most true, why are we afraid of death, as though God, contrary to his promise, could not or would not comfort or deliver us? Why are we afraid of the loss of our goods, as though God would have them who fear him, destitute of all good things, and so do against his most ample promises? Ah, faith, faith, how few feel thee now-a-days? Full truly, said Christ, that he should scarcely find faith when he came on earth. For if men believed these promises, they would never do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many soever they be, or how learned soever they be, can prevail in this behalf; for the pattern which we must follow is Christ himself, and not the more company, or custom.* His Word is the lantern to lighten our steps, and *not learned men.* Company and custom are to be considered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be listened to, and followed according to God's love and law, for else the more part goeth to the devil. *As custom causeth error and blindness, so learning, if it be not according to the light of God's word, is poison, and learned men most pernicious.* The devil is called *demon* for his cunning, and the children of this world are much wiser than the children of light, in their generation; and I know the devil and his dearlings have always, for the most part, more helps in this life, than Christ's Church and her children.

They, the devil and his synagogue I mean, have custom, multitude, unity, antiquity, learning, power, riches, honour, dignity, and promotions plenty; as they always have had, and shall have commonly, and for the most part, until Christ's coming; much more then the true Church hath presently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter shall have. For her glory, riches, and honour are not here; her trial, cross, and warfare are here. And therefore, my dear hearts in

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* See Appendix, Note (EE.)

the Lord, consider these things accordingly. Consider what you be, not worldlings, but God's children. Consider where you be, not at home, but in a strange country. Consider among whom you are conversant, even in the midst of your enemies, and of a wicked generation; and then, I trust, you will not much muse at affliction, which you cannot be without, being as you be, God's children, in a strange country, and in the midst of your enemies; except you would leave your Captain, CHRIST, and follow *satan*, for the muck of this mould, rest and quietness, which he may promise you; and you indeed think you shall receive it, by doing as he would have you to do, but my sweet hearts, he is not able to pay what he promiseth.

Peace and war come from God, riches, and poverty, wealth and woe. The devil hath no power but by God's permission. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body, or life, I pray you tell me, what can much hurt you, as Peter saith, you being followers of godliness? Think you that God will not remember you in his time, as most shall be to your comfort? Can a woman forget the child of her womb? And if she should, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord. Look upon Abraham in his exile and misery, look upon Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, the prophets, apostles, and all the godly from the beginning; and my good brethren, is not God the same God? Is he a changeling? You have heard of the patience of God, saith St. James, and you have seen the end, how that God is merciful, patient, and long suffering; even so say I unto you, that you shall find accordingly, if so be you be patient, that is, if so be you fear him, set his word before you, serve him thereafter, and if when he lay his cross on you, you bear it with patience; the which you shall do, when you consider it not according to the present sense, but according to the end.*

Therefore I heartily beseech you, and out of my bonds, which I suffer for your sake, pray you, mine own sweet hearts in the Lord; that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many others of my brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our own fantasies; but the very word of God, which we are ready with our lives, God so enabling† us, as we trust he will, to confirm; and by the shedding

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* Heb. xii.—2 Cor. iv. † Enhabling.

of our bloods, in all patience and humble obedience to the superior powers, to testify and seal up; as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confess the same before this wicked world; knowing that if we confess Christ, and his truth before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven. If so be we be ashamed hereof, for loss of life, friends, or goods, he will be ashamed of us before his Father, and his holy angels in heaven.

Therefore, take heed, for the Lord's sake, take heed, take heed, and defile not your bodies or souls with this Romish and antichristian religion, set up amongst us again; but come away, come away, as the angel crieth, from amongst them, in their idolatrous service, lest you be partakers of their iniquity.

Hearken to your preachers, as the Thessalonians did to Paul; that is, compare* their sayings with the Scriptures; and if they sound not thereafter, the morning light shall not shine upon them. Use much and hearty prayer for the spirit of wisdom, knowledge, humbleness, meekness, sobriety, and repentance; which we have great need of, because our sins have thus provoked the Lord's anger against us. But let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter tears, and sorrowful sighs; and doubtless he will be merciful to us, after his wonted mercy. The which thing may he vouchsafe to do, for his holy name's sake, in Christ Jesu our Lord; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, and everlasting thanks, from this time forth, for evermore, Amen.

Out of prison, by yours in the Lord, to command,

JOHN BRADFORD.

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* Confer.

## No. 106.*

## TO HIS GOOD BROTHER, AUGUSTINE BERNHER.†

Mine own good Augustine, the Lord of mercy bless you, my dear brother, for ever. I have good hope that if you come late at night, I shall speak with you, but come as secretly as you can. Howbeit, in the mean season, if you can, and as you can, learn what M. G.‡ hath spoken to Dr. Story and others. The cause of all this trouble, both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him.

It is said that I shall be burned in Smithfield, and that shortly. *Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego, Domine, mitte me.* Ah, mine own sweet friend, I am now alone, lest I should make you and others worse. If I should live, I would more warily use the company of God's children, than ever I have done. *Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccavi ei.* Commend me to my most dear sister, for whom my heart bleeds, the Lord comfort her and strengthen her unto the end. I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we shall most surely meet, and praise the Lord continually.

I have now taken a more certain answer of death, than ever I did; and yet not so certain as I think I should do. I am now as a sheep appointed to the slaughter. Ah, my God, the hour is come, glorify thy most unworthy child. I have glorified thee, saith this my sweet Father, and I will glorify thee, Amen. Ah, mine own bowels, praise God for me, and pray for me; for I am his, I hope; I hope he will never forsake me, though I have, above all others, most deserved it. I am the most singular example of his mercy; praised be his name therefore for ever.

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* Fox iii. 348. Cov. 468.

† See Appendix, Note (NN.)

‡ Grimbold or Grimoald.—See Appendix, p. xlix.

Cause Mrs. Pierpoint to learn of the Sheriff, M. Chester, what they purpose to do with me, and know if you can, whether there be any writ forth for me. *Factus sum sicut Nycticorax in domicilio, et passer solitarius in lecto.* Ah, my Augustine, how long shall God's enemies thus triumph? I have sent you this, of the baptism of children, to write out; when this is done, you shall have other things. Pray, pray, mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to speak with me, but yet I trust that I shall speak with you.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 107.*

## TO HIS OWN GOOD AUGUSTINE.

Dear brother Augustine, I cannot but be bold of you in my need, and therefore I write as I do. Come hither betimes, I pray you, in the morning, and use so to do; for then, I think, you shall speak with me. Also use to come late in the evening, and let me know, whether in the day time I may send for you. Pray Walsh to steal you in, as I hope he will do. If he do bring you in, then shall this which followeth, not need; but doubting the worst, this do I write.

First, will my man William, to make all things ready for me, for I am persuaded I shall into Lancashire, there to be burned; howbeit, first they say, I must to the Fleet. Then, will him to hearken early in the morning, whether I be not conveyed away, before men be aware. Also, I pray you, will Robert Harrington, who I hope will go with me, to look for that journey. Visit often my dear sister, and although I cannot now write unto her, as I would, for all things are more strange here, and cases more and more perilous, yet tell her that I am careful for her; desire her to have good comfort; God shall give us to meet in his kingdom. In

* Cov. 470.

the mean season, I will pray for her, as my dearest sister. Of truth, I never did love her half so well as I now do, and yet I love her not half so well as I would do; she is the very daughter of Abraham.

I pray thee heartily, be merry, my good brother, and desire all my friends so to be; for, I thank God, I feel a greater benefit than all the bishops in England can take from me. Praise God, and pray for me, mine own dear heart in the Lord, whom I hope I shall never forget.

Your poor brother in the Lord,
JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 108.*

## TO HIS GOOD BROTHER, M. COKER,

*At Maldon, in Essex.*

Although I have at present, both little time, and less opportunity otherwise, to write as I would; yet as I may, I thought better to write something than utterly to be silent. For if I should not so do, having so convenient a messenger; as I might, towards you incur the suspicion of ingratitude, and forgetfulness; so might I not satisfy the desire of this my poor brother and friend, John Searchfield, who cometh unto you for help and comfort, in this troublesome time.

This dare I say, that the man feareth God; and for God's sake, and conscience towards him, sustaineth both loss and labour. For our common Father's sake therefore, in Christ, help him to some hole, to hide himself in, for a little time, if conveniently you may; and remember that he that receiveth one of Christ's little ones, receiveth Christ, as he himself, in the last day, will acknowledge. Which last day, let us often look on and set before us, as the thing which most maketh to our comfort.

* Cov. 388.

Now we sorrow and sigh, to see the sea swell and rage on this sort, as it doth. And to confess the truth, we have double cause; as well because we have deserved this sour sauce, by reason of our unthankfulness and many sins, which the Lord pardon, as because God's glory is trodden under foot. But this comfort we have, that as God, our good Father, will not the death of a sinner, so will he order this gear, most to his glory, and our joy and comfort, if we repent now, and heartily lament our evils, use earnest, humble, and often, yea, *continual prayer;* and cast ourselves wholly on him, and his goodness; still labouring to lothe this life, and longing for the life to come. For the which, we should account this, as it is, a very vale of misery, much to be mourned in, because the time of our habitation herein, and exile, is prolonged. May God grant us his Holy Spirit, to strengthen us in his truth professed, that we may persevere to the end, in the joyful and courageous confessing of his Christ, Amen. I pray you continue, as, I trust, you do, to keep both soul and body pure in God's service. Strive to enter in at the narrow gate, though you leave your lands and goods behind you. It is not lost, which for Christ's sake we leave, but lent to a great usury. Remember that this time is come but to try us. God make us faithful to the end; God keep us always as his children, Amen. I pray you commend me to M. Osburne, and to all our good brethren in the Lord. The peace of Christ be with us all, Amen, Amen.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 109.*

# TO HIS OWN GOOD BROTHER, M. JOHN PHILPOT,†

*Prisoner in the King's Bench.*

My dear brother, God our Father be praised for the good he doth work in you and by you. Even now I have received your loving letters, wherein I see cause to bless God for the wisdom, love, and efficacy, he hath and doth work, in you, and by you. Go on for God's sake to seek unity in Christ. If any will go to work dissemblingly, refuse it not; either it shall increase his damnation, or occasion him the sooner to conversion. The dissembling of Judas turned to the hurt of himself only. If once we come into an unity and love, then shall we not suspect one another, neither take things in the worse part.

Nothing hindereth them‡ more, than for that now they hear all that ever we speak, *cum prejudicio*, where, if an unity be had, this *prejudicium* will be taken away, and so then shall they see the truth, the sooner. Therefore, mine own dearest brother, go on and bring it to a good end. God, our Father, be with thee for ever, Amen.

Pray, my good brother, and desire mine own fellow and beloved brother, J. Careless,§ to do the like. I shall pray for you, both in my prayers with others, and with myself alonely, as for my most dear brother upon earth. I will not forget, by God's grace, to write in the behalf of our brethren in necessity. Jesus Christ, our sweet Saviour, be with us all, Emanuel for ever, Amen.

Your own in the Lord,
JOHN BRADFORD.

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* Cov. 408.

† Another of the Martyrs.—*Fox* iii. 538—610. He was son of Sir Peter Philpot, educated at Winchester School, and afterwards Archdeacon of Winchester; and boldly maintained the Reformation, in the Convocation held in Queen Mary's Reign. —*Strype Eccl. Mem.* iii. 1. 436.—438.

‡ He meaneth here certain free-will men.—Cov.

§ See Nos. 98. 99.

## No. 110.*

## TO CERTAIN GODLY MEN,

*Relievers and Helpers of Bradford and others, in their imprisonment.*

The peace of Christ, which passeth all pleasure and worldly felicity, be daily more and more felt in your hearts, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, by the inward working of the Holy Spirit, the earnest of our inheritance, and guider of God's elect; with the which, may God, our dear Father, more and more endue us all unto the end, for his beloved Son's sake, our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Praised be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is a Father of mercy, and a God of all consolation; who hath blessed you with the knowledge and love of his truth, not only to your own comforts; but also the great ease and comfort of many, who without the help of God, by you hitherto, had been in much more misery. By your relieving the Lord's prisoners, I am brought to see the root whereof the work doth spring, even the knowledge and love of God's truth, wherefore we are in bonds. The which knowledge and love, in that it is a blessing of all blessings the greatest, for it is even eternal life, *John* xvii.; I cannot but praise God for you on this behalf, that it hath pleased him to vouch you, worthy so excellent and singular a benefit; which is more to be esteemed, desired, and cared for, than any thing else.

The world, for all that ever it hath, cannot attain by any means to this blessing, which God, our Father, hath given you freely of his own good will through Christ, even before ye were purposed to desire it. Therefore I beseech you all to be thankful with me, and to rejoice in the Lord. For if he have given us such a gift unasked, undesired, yea, unthought upon; how can it be that he will deny us any good thing now, which may be necessary for us? Will he, trow ye, sow his seed in the ground of your hearts, and not keep

* Cov. 460.

away the fowls from picking it up? Would he so bestow his seed in you as he hath, if that he would not hedge in your hearts, his field, from common paths, and from breaking in of beasts to destroy it? Will he be more careless than a good husbandman to weed out the weeds which are in us, lest they should overgrow the corn of his word? Will not he bestow muck and marl upon us, that we may bring forth more fruit? If in a good husbandman this be not lacking, alas, how should we think then, but that the Lord God, a good husbandman, and nothing but good, and only good; how, I say, should it be, but that he is most careful to keep his seed, already sown in your hearts, by the ministry of us and other his preachers; and that to the bringing forth of just and full fruits? He that hath begun with you, will happily make an end with you. He hath began to sow his seed in you, as I dare say you feel it. Be sure then that all this will follow; first, he will have scarecrows in your hearts; I mean, such sparkles of his fear will he drop, yea, already he hath dropped into you, that the birds of the air, vain and evil cogitations, shall not be cherished of you, but expelled, by crying to the Lord for his help. Secondly, he will make such hedges, as shall keep you, as well from by-paths of all evil customs and usages; as also preserve you from the power of evil and dominion of sin, which would have the upper hand of you. Thirdly, he will doubtless pour such showers upon you, to supply you, so weed you, so muck and marl you by temptation and other exercises, that the sunshine of persecution shall make more to the ripening of his seed in you, than to the withering of it away.

These things, my dearly beloved, the Lord God, who hath begun them in you and for you, will continue with you; that in the end you may be brought into his barn, there to rest with him in eternal felicity. For God's sake, therefore, wait and look for no less than I have told you at his hands; a greater service can you not give him. If God keep not the order I have told you, but perchance begin to muck and marl you, to pour his showers upon you; to nip you with his weeding tongs, &c.; rejoice and be glad, that God will do that in you and with you at once, which a long time he hath been working in and for others. Now undoubtedly great showers are fallen, to supply our hearts, that God's word might enter therein and take

root. Now the Lord goeth a weeding, to weed out of us our carnality, security, covetousness, self-love, forgetfulness of God, and love of this world. Now the Lord doth muck and marl us, loading us with heaps and burdens of crosses, that our hearts might be made good ground, to bring forth fruit to God's glory by patience; as well in suffering inward temptations and griefs, whereof we must complain to the Lord, for his scarecrows to drive them forth of us, as also in suffering outward assaults; for the which we must cry to our master, for his hedges and defence, which hath two parts; the one concerning us, to help and deliver us; and the other concerning our, or rather his, obstinate adversaries, to take vengeance upon them, which he will do in his time.

Therefore let us by patience possess our souls, knowing that they who persevere to the end, shall be saved. Let us not be weary of well-doing, for in our time we shall reap the fruits thereof. But rather, while we have time, let us redeem it in doing well to all men, but especially to the household of faith; which thing hereto you have done, the Lord therefore be praised, and in the days of his coming may he recompence you; and in the rest I hope well; I mean that you have declared no less, in confessing the truth planted in your hearts, by your words and works, after your vocation, to the glory of God.

I hope you have godly behaved yourselves, not being as too many be now-a-days, even mongrels, giving half to God, and half to the world; halting on both knees, going two ways; I mean it of the mass-gospellers, who are worse than any papists. In this point I hope well of you, my dearly beloved, that you have not contaminated yourselves; that you have both confessed the truth as oft as need hath required, and also have refrained from coming to church now, where is nothing but idolatrous service. I hope you have glorified God, both in soul and body. I hope you have gathered with Christ, and not scattered abroad. I hope you have drawn no yoke with unbelievers, nor communicated with other men's sins, but have abstained from all appearance of evil; confessing in heart, confessing in tongue, confessing in deed and act, the true knowledge of God, which he hath of his great mercy given unto you; not to be as a candle under a bushel, but upon the candlestick, to give light that men may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in

heaven. All this I hope of you, my beloved, and also of all purity of life and godly conversation; not doubting, but in this behalf also, you have declared God's verity in your heart, and for the Lord's sake do so still, in all points; that is, in your vocations be diligent and righteous, towards yourselves be sober and pure, towards your neighbours be charitable and just, towards God be faithful and thankful, loving and obedient.

Use earnest and often hearty prayer. Meditate much upon, and often hearken to, the Word of God. If you be called, give with modesty an account of the hope which is in you. Be not ashamed of God's true service, allow not that with your presence, which is contrary to God's will. Make not the members of Christ's Church, that is yourselves, members of antichrist's church. Be not ashamed of the gospel, or of such as be bound therefore, but rather be partakers thereof; first inwardly, by compassion, prayer, &c.; then outwardly, by giving, according to that the Lord hath lent you to that end; and last of all, by suffering with us if God so will, and if it be needful for you. For, my dearly beloved, be certain that no man can touch you, or lay hands upon you, but by the will of God, who is all good towards you; even as the will of a most dear father, who cannot always be angry, or otherwise use his rod, than only to chastise and correct, not to destroy his children.

Again, be certain that no cross shall come unto you before you need it. For God is our physician, and when he seeth our souls in peril, he preventeth the peril by purgation, and ministering physic, which is the cross. As therefore for the body, we follow the advice of physicians for the health thereof, thankfully using their counsel and following their precepts; so for God's sake, let us for our souls, being sick, thankfully receive the heavenly physician's physic and diet; so shall we wax strong men in God, and in his Christ; which thing I beseech thee, O Holy Spirit, to work in us all, Amen.

My dearly beloved, this have I briefly written unto you, not as one that seeketh any gifts, as Paul saith; but as one that seeketh abundant fruits on your behalf, and to your commodity. For it is better to give than to receive, saith Christ, by his apostle St. Paul; who testifieth, That according to that we sow, so shall we reap. He

that soweth little, shall reap little; he that soweth much, shall reap much. Never should we forget, how that the Lord Jesus, being rich, for our sakes became poor, that we might be made rich by him. Again, never should we forget that we are dead to sin and alive to righteousness. Therefore should we live wholly unto God and for God, and not for ourselves. In all things, therefore, we must avoid the seeking of ourselves, as well in doing, as in leaving things undone. If the cross come upon us, therefore, then are we happy, for the Spirit of God, and glory of God, resteth upon us. Therefore rejoice, saith Christ, for your reward is great in heaven. In this we are made like to Christ here; therefore, we shall be so elsewhere, even in eternal joy and endless glory.

The highway to heaven, you know, is affliction; so that all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. If we were of the world, the world would love us; but we are not of the world, but bear witness against the world, and therefore the world doth hate us. But let us rejoice, our Lord hath overcome the world. He suffered out of the city, bearing our rebuke, saith the apostle. Let us then go out of our tents, and bear his rebuke; that is, let us deny ourselves, take up our cross, which is his also, and follow him. Let us know and esteem this more riches than all the treasures of the world, as Moses did. Let us know, that he that saveth his life shall lose it. Let us know, that the way to salvation is a straight way, and a way wherein we cannot carry our bags and chests with us. Let us know, that no excuse of wife, farm, house, or child, will excuse us. Let us know, that in this case we must be so far from loving father, mother, wife, and children, that we must hate them, and our own selves also.

Though this be a hard saying, yet we must not leave our loads-man for a little foul way. Yea, rather we should know indeed, that it is but hard to the flesh, which, if she be handled daintily, will be imperious; under must she be kept, that the spirit, which is a precious thing in God's sight, may have her commodities. If we should follow the fancy of the flesh, we could not please God. Against it we have made a solemn profession, as also against the devil and the world in our baptism. And shall we now look for easy things of our enemies? Shall we

not look rather to be hardly entreated of them? O that we considered often and indeed, what we have professed in baptism; then the cross and we should be well acquainted together. For we are baptized into Christ's death; that is, as to be partakers of the benefit of his death, which is remission of sins; so to be made like thereunto continually, by dying to sin. O that we considered what we be; where we be; whither we are going; who calleth us; how he calleth us; to what felicity he calleth us; whereby he calleth us; then, my dear hearts in the Lord, we should say to all worldly persuasions and persuaders; follow me, satan, thou savourest not those things that be of God, but the things that be of men. Shall we not drink the cup which our heavenly Father hath appointed for us? O Lord God, open thou our eyes, that we may see the hope whereunto thou hast called us. Give us eyes of seeing, ears of hearing, and hearts of understanding. In the favour thou bearest to thy people, remember us; visit us with thy saving health, that we may see the good things thou hast prepared for thy elect children; that we may have some sight of thy heavenly Jerusalem, and have some taste of the sweetness of thy house. O, dear Father, kindle in us an earnest desire to be with thee in soul and body, to praise thy name for ever, with all thy saints in thy eternal glory, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 111.†

*To one, by whom Bradford had received much comfort and relief, in his trouble and imprisonment.*

The mercy of God in Christ, peculiar to his children, be ever more felt of you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, Amen. When I consider with myself, the benefits which God hath shewed unto me by your means, if I had so good and thankful a heart as I would I

† Fox iii. 346. Cov. 456.

had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now being yet still the Lord's prisoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think myself so much bound to you, my good brother, although you were but the instrument, by whom God wrought and blessed me, that I look not to come out of your debt, by any pleasure or service that I shall ever be able to do you in this life. I shall heartily pray unto God therefore, to requite you the good you have done to me for his sake; for I know that which you have done, you have done it simply in respect of God and his word. May he therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his truth and word, and so plentifully pour upon you the riches of his Holy Spirit, and heavenly treasures laid up in store for you; that your corporal and earthly riches, may be used of you as sacraments and significations thereof: the more to desire the one, that is the heavenly, and the less to esteem the other, that is the earthly.

For satan's solicitation is, to set before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you should not have access to the consideration of the heavenly; but as one bewitched, should utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worshipper of the earthly mammon; and so fall to covetousness and a desire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noisome and hurtful lusts. As now-a-days I hear of many, who have utterly forsaken God and all his heavenly riches, for antichrist's pleasures and the preserving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their posterity; whereof they are uncertain, as they may be most certain they leave to them God's wrath and vengeance, in his time to be sent by visitation; if they, in time, heartily repent not, and prevent not the same by earnest prayer. Wherein, my good brother, if you be diligent, hearty, and persevere, I am sure God will preserve you from evil, and from yielding yourself to do as the world now doth; by allowing in bodily fact, in the Romish service, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth disallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into consideration of earthly and present things simply, then shall you fall into faithless follies, and wounding of your conscience; from which God evermore preserve you, with your good wife and your babe, Leonard,

and all your family; to the which I wish the blessing of God now and for ever, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

I pray you give thanks for me to your old bedfellow, for his great friendship, for your sake shewed to me, when I was in the Tower.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 112.*

## TO A FAITHFUL AND DEAR FRIEND,

*Treating of Rom.* viii. 19.

Grace and peace, with increase of all godliness in Christ, I wish unto you, my dearly beloved.

Because this morning I had some knowledge, more than before I had, how that my life stood in great danger; and that even this week, so far as men might, both by the doings and sayings of such as be in authority, attempted and spoken concerning me, judge and perceive; I thought good, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, to go about something which might be on my behalf, as it were, cygnea cantio, a swan's song;† and towards you, both a monument of the kind of my love, and also a help, or at the least, an occasion for you to profit in that, which, I bear you record, you most desire; I mean, everlasting life and the state thereof. And this will I attempt, upon the last talk we had betwixt us, when you were here with me. I know you have not forgotten, that we talked together of the place of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. viii., concerning the groanings of the *Creature*, and his desire of the revelation of the children of God. You demand whether this word *creature* was to be understood of man, or no; and I told you, that though some did take *creature* there for man, because there is no kind of creature

* Cov. 478.

† That is, which might be a special comfort to him, being then ready to be burned; as the swan's song is sweetest, a little before his death.—*Cov.*

which may not be acknowledged in man; yet, said I, the text itself, considered with that which the apostle writeth of Christ, *Eph.* i. *Col.* i.—the Restorer and Reformer of all things that be both in heaven and in earth; and with the argument, which Saint Paul presently hath in hand there, doth enforce a godly mind to take every creature there, as also St. Chrysostom and St. Ambrose do, for the whole world, and every creature, both heavenly and earthly. All things, I told you, were made for man, and according to man's state so are they. When man was without sin, and in God's favour, there was no malediction, curse, or corruption. But when man, by sin, was cast out of favour, then was the earth cursed. For the wickedness of the inhabitants, fruitful lands are turned into salt ground; as for their piety, barren countries are made fruitful, *Ps.* cvii. The angels themselves do rejoice over one sinner that repenteth; thereby giving us notice, that in their kind they lament over the impenitent. In reading the prophets, you may see how all things do depend of man. When they prophesy any great blessing or plague to come to God's people, they do communicate the same both to heaven and earth, and to every thing else. As for example, when the prophets do foreshew the overthrows of realms and peoples, how do they say the whole shape of the world shall be moved thereat? Look upon Isaiah, how he, when he prophesieth the fall of Babylon, doth say, that the stars shall not shine from heaven; the sun shall be darkened in his rising; the moon shall not give her light. And afterwards he saith, I will shake the heavens, and the earth shall be moved out of his place, *Isaiah* xiii. But the histories do witness, that there are wonderful changes of all creatures, both heavenly and earthly, in the overthrows and destructions of realms and people.

Again, when Isaiah doth prophesy of the kingdom of Christ, he doth promise new heavens and a new earth, and that so excellent and new, that he sheweth the former heavens and earth to be utterly forgotten, *Isaiah* lxiii.; whereto the apostle agreeth, making Christ the repairer of all things in heaven and in earth, *Eph.* i. *Col.* i. How did both heaven and earth give their service to the Israelites coming forth of Egypt, as well in preserving them, as in destroying their enemies? How did the sun shine longer than it was wont to

do, for Joshua to overcome his enemies? How did the very angels fight for Hezekiah, against the Assyrians? Read the 30th chapter of Isaiah. And behold the history of Christ; how the angels were ministers unto him in the wilderness; how the devils confessed him. In his death, how did all the whole world shew compassion? The sun was darkened; the earth did quake; the rocks clave asunder; the veil of the Temple rent asunder. When he arose, both heaven (for the angels with great heavenly brightness appeared) and earth, which was moved, did rejoice: the angels were preachers of it. In his ascension also, did not a bright cloud receive him and take him up? Did not the angels testify of his return? When he sent the Holy Ghost, and made his new covenant of grace, did not all the whole world serve thereto, by thunder, smoke, fire, and earthquake? Now how wonderfully they will do their service to Christ coming to judgment, is more plain than I need to rehearse. And inasmuch as we are the members of Christ, he being our Head, we may soon see how that all things have a certain compassion with man, and do after their kind, as the apostle writeth, look for a deliverance from vanity, which they shall obtain in their restoration.

I therefore told you, how that I do take the apostle to mean, by every creature simply, even all the whole shape and creatures in the world. He doth attribute unto them, how that they look for the perfection of our salvation; how that they are subject to vanity; how that they are subject in hope; how that they groan and travail; attributing these things unto the senseless creature, by translation from man, to signify the society, cognation, and consent, which all and every creature hath with man; that as every and all things were made for man; so by the man Christ, all and every thing both earthly and heavenly shall be restored.

These things you know in effect, I spake unto you, to stir up both myself and you, to a deeper consideration of our blessed state, which now we enjoy in hope, which will never deceive us; the more to occasion us to desire the full fruition of the same. But I do remember that you were something troubled, about some doubtfulness hereabout. Therefore I purpose now to write of this matter more at large, thereby to occasion us both to see better, through the help of God's Spirit, that which we desire; and I pray God grant

unto us both, for his mercy's sake; I mean the felicity of his children, and the happy state which, one day in very deed, my dear heart, we shall fully possess, and both together praise the Lord with all his saints, world without end. Amen, Amen.

This was your doubt;—if so be that St. Paul did mean by all creatures simply, as I have spoken, that they shall be delivered from corruption, into such a state as shall adorn the freedom of God's children; whether that plants, beasts, and other things having life, shall be restored. If yea,—then you would know whether all things that have been shall be restored also. And after this, you will perchance ask in what place they shall be, what they shall do, and so forth. As I think upon this matter, and as I am accustomed to answer such questions coming to me, I will here write for an answer unto you also; not doubting but that therewith you will be satisfied, because I know your heart is satisfied, with godly and sufficient answers. Thus I think; all and every creature groaneth and travaileth as yet, hoping and looking for my restoration, for they be subject to corruption for my sins' sake; but they all shall be delivered by my Christ from the bondage of corruption, then when he shall restore us his members. This will I muse on and weigh with myself, that I may duly know, both in me and in all other things, the atrocity and bitterness of sin which dwelleth in me; and so may the more heartily give over myself wholly to the Lord Christ, my Saviour; that he may, with what cross soever shall please him, slay sin in me, and bring me after his own will and way, to newness of life. Whereunto, that I for my part, may faithfully and with all my whole heart do my diligence in mortifying the desires of my flesh, and in labouring to obey the desires of the spirit, to live a life acceptable to him, I beseech him of his grace. And that I may do this chearfully, and continue in this purpose and diligence, I will fasten my mind, as much as the Lord shall enable me, to consider this my so great happiness, whereunto I shall be restored in the resurrection; the which resurrection, doubtless shall be adorned by the whole shape of the world, delivered from corruption. These things will I think on, these things will I pause on; herein will I, as it were, drown myself, being careless of this; I mean, what parts of the world the Lord Christ will restore with me, or how he will do it, or what state or condition he will give it.

It is enough and enough for me, that I, and all the whole world with me, shall be much more happy than now I can by any means conceive. By reason hereof I will praise and glorify my Lord, and by his grace I will study to please him with all my heart, with all my soul, with all my strength, singing unto him, that he both doth well, and hath done and made all things well; to him be eternal glory for ever. This is my cogitation in this matter, and not mine only, but the cogitation of one who* was my father in the Lord; and now, I am assured, with the Lord at home, where we yet are from home, by reason of this our corruptible habitacles,† wherein we abide the Lord's leisure.

If you would know the reason that moveth me, to answer as I have done to the aforesaid doubts or questions, it is this. You see that the apostle in this place to the Romans, speaketh of the deliverance of every creature from the bondage of corruption, and that to the beautifying of the glory of God's children. This is so manifest, that no man can well deny it. It is but a simple shift to say that the apostle doth mean in this place by every creature, man only. He is not wont to speak on that sort. Neither dare I say that the apostle speaketh here hyperbolically or excessively, although some think so. But as I said, I say again, that the apostle doth here simply affirm, that there shall be a renovation and a deliverance from corruption, not only of man, but also of all and of every part of the whole world; of every part, I say, meaning parts in deed, and not such as be rather vices, and added for plagues, than for parts. For by reason of sin, many spots and corruptions are come into the world, as is all that is hurtful and filthy in the creatures. Also, all that cometh of corruption, as perchance fleas, vermin, and such like.

This renovation of all things, the prophets do seem to promise, when they promise new heavens and new earth; for a new earth seemeth to require no less renovation of earthly things, than new heavens do of heavenly things. But these things the apostle doth plainly affirm, that Christ will restore, even whatsoever be in heaven and in earth, *Col.* i. Therefore methinks it is the duty of a godly mind, simply to acknowledge, and thereof to brag in the Lord, that

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* He meaneth that most godly, and learned father, M. Martin Bucer.—*Cov.*

† Dwelling places.

in our resurrection, all things shall be so repaired to eternity, as for our sins they were made subject to corruption.

The ancient writers, out of Peter, have, as it were, agreed to this sentence; that the shape of this world shall pass away through the burning of earthly fire, as it was drowned with the flowing of earthly waters. These be St. Augustine's words.* Whereto I will add these which he there writeth; The qualities (saith he) of the corruptible elements, which agreed with our corruptible bodies, shall utterly be burned, with that same worldly conflagration and burning as I said; but the substance itself shall have those qualities, which do agree by a marvellous change to our bodies, that the world changing into the better, may openly be made meet to man, returned even in the flesh into the better. These be his words, whereby it is plain, that this good man did believe that the elements should be renewed; but of other things he meddleth not, except it be of the sea, by the occasion of that which is in the Apocalypse; howbeit, so he speaketh, that he cannot well tell whether it also shall be changed into the better, adding these words; But we read that there shall be a new heaven and a new earth. For he did understand the place of Isaiah, concerning the new heaven and new earth simply; of other things he expresseth nothing.

But Thomas Aquinas entreateth this question more exactly, or rather curiously, affirming the celestial bodies, the elements, and mankind to be renewed; but in no wise, beasts, plants, &c. to be so; and this is his principal reason. The renovation of the world shall be for man; therefore such shall be the renovation, as shall be conformable to the renovation of man. But the renovation of man shall be from corruption to incorruption; from moving to rest; the things therefore that shall be renewed with man, must be brought also to incorruption. Now, the celestial bodies and the elements were made to incorruption; the one wholly and in every part, the other, that is the elements, though in part they are corruptible, yet concerning the whole, they are incorruptible, as man is incorruptible concerning part, that is, the soul. But beasts, plants, &c. are corruptible, both wholly and in every part; therefore they were not

* De civit. Dei.

made to incorruption, and so are they not conformable to the renewing, that is, they are not receivable of incorruption, and therefore they shall not be restored.

This reason is true in this part, that it affirmeth things shall be restored with man, and with him shall be brought to perpetuity, and as the apostle saith, to be delivered from the bondage of corruption. Again, his reason is true herein also, that man's reason may sooner be persuaded, that things now partly incorruptible, shall be restored altogether to incorruption. But now to say, that by no reason, those things may be brought to perpetuity, which now both wholly and partly be temporal and momentary, how can he prove it? in that the nature and being of all things dependeth on the omnipotency of God, who, after his own pleasure, doth give to things which he hath made, their being; and all is one to him, to make a thing temporal, and to make it eternal. For he made all things of nothing; and therefore heaven and the celestial bodies have no more of themselves that they be perpetual, than have those things that last but a day; wherefore, this reason which Thomas maketh is not firm, in that it wholly leaneth to that which now seemeth and appeareth in things. Indeed, as I said, it hath some shew or probability, that these things shall be renewed to eternity for the glory of God's children, which are now something partakers of the same. But now, seeing that both it which they now have, and also shall have, dependeth upon the beck and pleasure of God, whom hath God made of counsel with him, concerning the renovation of the world and of all things, that he can tell what parts of things, and what kinds of things he will renew? Yea, even Aristotle did acknowledge that physics or natural knowledge, because it bringeth its reasons from the disposition and nature of things, hath not full necessity of its reasons. *For nature is nothing else, than the ordinary and wonted will of God; as a miracle, portent, or monster, is the rare and unwonted will of God.* We say that the nature of stone, and all heavy things, is to sink downward; which is nothing else but the pleasure of God, so depelling them and putting them down; for else of themselves nothing is either heavy or light, all is alike to be carried downwards or upwards. Who may make God subject to his work? Can not he that made all things of nothing, give here-

after to the things that he hath made, that whereof now in themselves they have no capacity?

These things I do therefore rehearse, to the end I might declare; that when we dispute what God will do concerning his works, how that it is not seemly for us to conclude, according to that which seemeth and appeareth to us in things, but rather as godliness requireth, to refer all things to the will of God. This will, if it be expressed in Holy Scripture, then may we simply determine, that which we read expressed there. But if it be not so, then ought we freely to confess our ignorance, and not prescribe to God, what he ought to do of his works, by that which already he hath done. God is of power infinite, and of nothing did he not only make all things, but also will do what pleaseth him, both in heaven and in earth, saith David.

The aforesaid Thomas bringeth forth also other reasons; but which he himself counteth not for invincible. One is: if beasts and plants shall be restored, either all or some shall be restored. If all shall be restored, then must the resurrection be communicate unto them, that the same in number be restored, which is not convenient. If some shall be restored, there appeareth no reason why these should be restored more than other; therefore, saith he, they shall not be restored. But here what would he answer, if one should ask him, how he knoweth it is not convenient; that either all in number be restored, as man shall arise, either only some, in that this thing wholly resteth, in the hand and will of God? Another reason he maketh out of Aristotle, and out of a ground which is uncertain. Aristotle affirmeth the perpetuity of things, to hang on the continual moving of heaven. Thomas now hereto gathereth thus; But the moving of heaven shall cease; therefore he concludeth that in these inferior things, no perpetuity may be looked for. But here, what answer will he make, if a man shall say that all things hang at the beck and pleasure of God; who now, for the conservation of his creatures, which now arise and spring, and now die and fall down; useth the moving of heaven, and can afterwards not use it for this purpose? This is a truth, that all things of themselves are nothing; much more then can they not do any thing. Now, men may conjecture that the moving of heaven shall cease; but yet, by the

certain Word of God, they cannot prove it. In like manner is his last reason, which he maketh of the end of beasts and plants; but which end he knoweth not. Beasts and plants, saith he, were made for the sustentation of the mutual life of man; but this life shall cease, therefore shall they also. But here hath he no answer, if a man should demand, Who knoweth whether God have made them, to no other end or use?

Seeing, therefore, these things be as you see, I suppose it not to pertain to a godly man, to deny the beasts and plants to be restored; in that the apostle doth here expressly say, that every creature which is now subject to vanity, shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God. In that the Holy Ghost doth affirm this of every creature, by what reason dare a godly mind, exempt any part from this deliverance to come? Howbeit, neither will the godly mind contend, whether every creature shall be renewed. For the Holy Ghost spake of the creature generally, and not particularly; and therefore we may not otherwise affirm, because we must not speak, but God's word. Therefore it is the part of a godly man, and of one that hangeth in all things upon the word of God, to learn out of this place; that whatsoever corruption, death, or grief, he seeth in any thing, wheresoever it be, that, I say, he ascribe it wholly unto his sins, and thereby provoke himself to true repentance. Now as soon as that repentance compelleth him to go to Christ, let him think thus; but this my Saviour, and my Head Jesus Christ, did for my sins; and therewith, as he took away death, so hath he taken away all the corruption and labour of all things; and will restore them in his time, whithersoever they be, in heaven or in earth. Now every creature travaileth and groaneth with us; but we being restored, they also shall be restored. There shall be new heavens, new earth, and all things new.

Thus I wish that our minds might stay, in this generality of the renovation of the world; and not curiously to search what parts of the world shall be restored, and what shall not; or how all things shall be restored; much more then I would not have us curious, nor inquisitive of their place, where they shall be; of their action, what they shall do; or of their properties, and such like. For if, to have

foreknown these things, would have made much to godliness, surely the Holy Ghost would most plainly have told them. For according to Christ's promise, he bringeth us into all truth; all truth, I say, such as the knowledge of would profit us.

All the Scripture is given to us for this purpose, that the man of God might be made perfect, and instructed to all good works; and truly that can be no good work, which we do, except God teach us the same. He hath prepared the good works wherein we walk, *Eph.* ii. But the certain and bottomless fountain of these good works is, in all things to hang on the beck and pleasure of God; and through our Lord Jesus Christ, to look for, with remission of sins, life everlasting, and the glory of the resurrection. To the end, therefore, that we may more fully know our sins, and more make of our redemption from them by Christ; let us set before our eyes, death, the hire of sin; and that not only in ourselves, but also in every creature of the world. Howbeit, this let us do, with a hope of so ample a restoration, and never enough to be marvelled at; which shall be even in all things for our renovation, by the Lord Jesus Christ, the Renewer of all things whatsoever be, in heaven or in earth.

He that with true faith weigheth and considereth these things, will be, as it were, swallowed up in the admiration of so exceeding great benevolence and love of God, our heavenly Father; that he can never admit to yield to this curiosity, of searching what kinds of things shall be renewed, and how they shall be renewed; or what state or condition they shall be in, when they are renewed.

These be things of the life to come, whereof this foreknowledge is sufficient; that all these things shall be more perfect and happy, than the reach of reason is able to look upon the glory of them. For the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, nor it cannot ascend into man's heart, that God hath prepared for them that love him. For concerning our resurrection, what other thing do we know beforehand, but that we shall be most happy? Even so, therefore, let us not doubt, but that there shall be a deliverance of the creature from the servitude of corruption. And let us consider these things so, that we may wholly bend ourselves, to put away all the oldness of our flesh, whence indeed corruption and death do come; and that we may provoke ourselves, to the newness of the spirit, and the life

of Christ, wherein is all incorruption, and the true taste of the resurrection; for to this end the Holy Ghost did write this by the apostle. That therefore this spirit might lead us hereunto, let us pray; and then we shall understand this place of Paul with profit.

If perchance it will move you, that the apostle speaketh not of this deliverance of the creature from corruption, in any other place but here, neither any other holy writer; I would you would think, that the misery of the restoration of Israel, also of antichrist, is not expounded but in the apostle's writings, and that but in one place; yea, the manner of our resurrection is not written but in two places. We ought to know, that they are the words of the Lord, whatsoever the apostle hath left to us written. Again the simplicity of this place, *Rom.* viii. 19, is plain.

And thus, my dearly beloved, I have written to you so much as I think is sufficient about this matter; and therefore need not to tarry here any longer, or to spend any more time, about the answering of that which is but curiosity.

God our Father give us now his Holy Spirit, to lead us into this and all other necessary truth, in such sort, that we may have a lively feeling of eternal life begun in us; that we may become first new, and so look for a new heaven and a new earth, wherein righteousness dwelleth; which God impute to us, and begin in us, for his Christ's sake. Amen, Amen.

Your own for ever in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## No. 113.*

*An Exhortation, to the patient suffering of trouble and afflictions for Christ's cause, written by Bradford, to all the unfeigned Professors of the Gospel, throughout the Realm of England, at the beginning of his imprisonment, and here placed as it were to our hands.*

The Holy Spirit of God, which is the earnest and pledge of God, given to his people for their comfort and consolation; be poured into our hearts, by the mighty power and merits of our alone Saviour, Jesus Christ, now and for ever, Amen.

Because I perceive plainly, that to the evils fallen upon us, who profess Christ's Gospel, greater are most like to ensue; and after them greater, till the measure of iniquity be up-heaped, except we shrink, and having put our hands to the plough, do look back, and so with Lot's wife and the Israelites, desiring to return into Egypt, fall into God's heavy displeasure incurably, all which God forbid; and because I am persuaded of you, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters, throughout the Realm of England, who have professed unfeignedly the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for unto such do I write this epistle; that as ye have began to take part with God's Gospel and truth, so, through his grace, ye will persevere and go on forwards, notwithstanding the storms risen and to arise; I cannot but write something unto you, heartily to go on forwards in the way of the Lord, and not to become faint-hearted or fearful, whose place Saint John appointeth with the unbelievers, murderers, and idolaters, in eternal perdition; but cheerfully to take the Lord's cup, and drink of it, afore it draw towards the dregs and bottom, whereof at the length they shall drink, with the wicked, to eternal destruction, who will not receive it at the first with God's children; with whom God beginneth his judgment, that as the wicked world rejoiceth when they lament, so they may

* Cov. 427.

rejoice when the wicked world shall mourn, and without end find woe intolerable.

First therefore, my dearly beloved in the world, I beseech you to consider, that though ye be in the world, yet ye are not of the world. Ye are not of them, who look for their portion in this life, whose captain is the god of this world, even satan; who now ruffleth it apace, as he were wood, because his time on earth is not long.

But ye are of them, that look for a city of God's own blessing. Ye are of them, that know yourselves to be here but pilgrims and strangers; for here ye have no dwelling place. Ye are of them, whose portion is the Lord, and who have their hope in heaven; whose Captain is Christ Jesus, the Son of God, and Governor of heaven and earth. Unto him is given all power, yea, he is God Almighty, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, praiseworthy for ever.

Ye are not of them, who receive the beast's mark, who here rejoice, laugh, and have their hearts' ease, joy, paradise, and pleasure; but ye are of them, who have received the angel's mark, yea, God's mark; who here lament, mourn, sigh, sob, weep, and have your wilderness to wander in, your purgatory, and even hell, to purge and burn up your sins. Ye are not of them, who cry, Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die. Ye are not of that number, who say, They have made a covenant with death and hell, for hurting of them. Ye are not of them, who take it for a vain thing to serve the Lord. Ye are not of them, who are lulled and rocked asleep in Jezebel's bed, a bed of security. Ye are not of the number of them, who say, Tush, God is in heaven, and seeth us not, nor much passeth what we do. Ye are not of the number of them, who will fall down, for the muck of this world, to worship the fiend; or for displeasing of men, to worship the golden image. Finally, ye are not of the number of them, who set more by your pigs than by Christ; who, for ease and rest in this life, will say and do, as Antiochus biddeth you do or say; and will follow the multitude to do evil, with Zedekiah, and the three hundred false prophets, yea, Ahab, Jezebel, and the whole court and country.

But ye are of the number of them, who are dead already, or at least, be dying daily to yourselves and to this world. Ye are of

them, who have made a covenant with God, to forsake yourselves in this world and satan also. Ye are of them, who say, Nay, the Lord hath all things written in his memorial book, for such as fear him and remember his name. Ye are of them, who have their loins girded about, and their lights burning in their hands, like unto men that wait for their Lord's coming. Ye are of the number of them who say, The Lord looketh down from heaven, and beholdeth the children of men; from the habitation of his dwelling, he considereth all them that dwell upon the earth.

Ye are of the number of them, who will worship the only Lord God, and will not worship the works of man's hands, though the oven burn never so hot. Ye are of the number of them, to whom Christ is precious and dear, who cry out, rather because your habitation is prolonged here, as David did. Ye are of them, who follow Mattathias and the godly Jews; who know the way to life to be a strait way, and few to go through it; who will not flock to follow poor Micaiah, although he be racked and cast into prison, having the sun, moon, seven stars, and all against him.

Thus therefore, dearly beloved, remember first, that, as I said, ye are not of this world; that satan is not your captain; your joy and paradise is not here; your companions are not the multitude of worldlings, and such as seek to please men, and live here at ease in the service of satan. But ye are of another world; Christ is your Captain; your joy is in heaven, where your conversation is; your companions are the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, virgins, confessors, and the dear saints of God; who follow the lamb whithersoever he goeth, dipping their garments in his blood, knowing this life and world to be full of evil; a warfare, a smoke, a shadow, a vapour; and as replenished, so environed with all kind of miseries. This is the first thing, which I would have you often and diligently with yourselves to consider, and to muse well upon; namely, what ye be, and where ye be.

Now, secondly, forget not to call to mind, that ye ought not to think it any strange thing, if misery, trouble, adversity, persecution, and displeasure, come upon you. For how can it otherwise be, but that trouble and persecution must come upon you? Can the world love you, who are none of his? Can worldly men regard you,

who are your chief enemy's soldiers? Can satan suffer you to be in rest, who will do no homage unto him? Can this way be chosen of any, that make it so narrow and straight as they do? Will ye look to travel, and to have no foul way or rain? Will shipmen shrink, or sailors on the sea give over, if storms arise? Do they not look for such? And, dearly beloved, did we not enter into God's ship and ark of baptism at the first? Will ye then count it strange, if perils come or tempests blow? Are not ye travelling to your heavenly City of Jerusalem, where all is joy and felicity; and will ye now tarry by the way for storms or showers? The mart and fair will then be past; the night will so come upon you, that ye cannot travel; the door will be sparred, and the bride will be at supper. Therefore, away with dainty niceness. Do ye think the Father of Heaven will deal more gently with you in this age, than he hath done with others, his dearest friends, in other ages? What way, yea, what storms and tempests, what troubles and disquietness found Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and good Joseph? Which of these had so fair a life and restful times as we have had? Moses, Aaron, Samuel, David the King, and all the good kings, priests, and prophets, in the Old Testament, at one time or other, (if not throughout their lives) did feel a thousand parts more misery than we have felt hitherto.

As for the New Testament, Lord God, how great was the affliction of Mary, of Joseph, of Zachariah, of Elizabeth, of John Baptist, of all the apostles and evangelists, yea, of Jesus Christ our Lord, the dear Son and Darling of God? And since the time of the apostles, how many and great are the number of martyrs, confessors, and such as have suffered the shedding of their blood in this life, rather than they would be stayed in their journey, or lodge in any of satan's inns; lest the stones or winds which fell in their travellings, might have touched them? And, dearly beloved, let us think what we are, and how far unmeet to be matched with these, with whom yet we look to be placed in heaven.

But with what face can we look for this, who are so fearful, unwilling, and backward to leave that which, will we, nill we, we must leave; and that so shortly, as we know not the time when? Where is our abrenouncing and forsaking of the world, and the

flesh, which we solemnly took upon us in baptism? Ah, shameless cowards that we be, who will not follow the trace of so many fathers, patriarchs, kings, priests, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and saints of God, yea, even of the very Son of God.

How many now go with you lustily, as I and all your brethren in bonds and exile for the Gospel. Pray for us, for, God willing, we will not leave you now; we will go before you. Ye shall see in us, by God's grace, that we preached no lies nor tales of tubs, but even the very true word of God; for the confirmation whereof, we, by God's grace and the help of your prayers, will willingly and joyfully give our blood to be shed, as already we have given our livings, goods, friends, and natural country; for now are we certain, that we be in the highway to heaven's bliss; as Saint Paul saith, By many tribulations and persecutions, we must enter into God's kingdom. And because we would go thither ourselves, and bring you thither also, therefore the devil stirreth up the coals. And forasmuch as we all loitered in the way, he hath therefore received power of God to overcast the weather, and to stir up storms; that we, God's children, might more speedily go on forwards, and make more haste; as the counterfeits and hypocrites will tarry and linger till the storm be past, and so when they come, the market will be done, and the doors sparred, as it is to be feared.

Read Matthew xxv. This wind will blow God's children forwards, and the devil's darlings backward. Therefore, like God's children, let us go on forward apace; the wind is on our backs; hoist up the sails; lift up your hearts and hands to God in prayer, and keep your anchor of faith, to cast out in time of trouble, on the rock of God's word and mercy in Christ, by the cable of God's verity, and I warrant you. And thus much for you, secondly, to consider; that affliction, persecution, and trouble, is no strange thing to God's children, and therefore it should not dismay, discourage, or discomfort us; for it is none other thing, than all God's dear friends have tasted, in their journey to heavenwards.

As I would, in this troublesome time, that ye would consider what ye be, by the goodness of God in Christ, even citizens of heaven; though ye be presently in the flesh, even in a strange region, on every side full of fierce enemies; and what weather and way, the

dearest friends of God have found; even so would I have you, thirdly, to consider for your further comfort, that if ye shrink not, but go on forwards, pressing to the mark appointed, all the power of your enemies shall not overcome you, nor in any point hurt you.

But this must not you consider, according to the judgment of reason, and the sense of old Adam; but according to the judgment of God's word, and the experience of faith and the new man, for else you mar all. For to reason, and to the experience of our sense, or of the outward man, we poor souls who stick to God's word, to serve him as he requireth only; are counted to be vanquished and to be overcome, in that we are cast into prison, lose our livings, friends, goods, country, and life also at the length, concerning this world.

But, dearly beloved, God's word teacheth otherwise, and faith feeleth accordingly. Is it not written, Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, either hunger, either nakedness, either peril, either sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as sheep for the slaughter, appointed to be slain. Nevertheless, in all these things we overcome, through him that loved us. For I am sure, that neither death, neither life, neither angels nor rule; neither power, neither things present, neither things to come, neither high nor low, neither any creature; shall be able to part us from that love, wherewith God loved us in Christ Jesus our Lord. Thus spake one who was in affliction, as I am, for the Lord's Gospel's sake, his holy name be praised therefore; and may he grant me grace with the same, to continue in like suffering unto the end. This, I say, one spake, who was in affliction for the Gospel; but yet so far from being overcome, that he rejoiced rather of the victory which the Gospel had. For though he was bound, yet the Gospel was not bound. And therefore giveth he thanks unto God, who always giveth the victory in Christ; and openeth the savour of his knowledge by us, and such as suffer for his truth; although they shut us up never so much, and drive us never so far out of our own natural country in every place.

The world, for a time, may deceive itself, thinking it hath the victory; but yet the end will try the contrary. Did not Cain think

he had the victory, when Abel was slain? But how say you now? Is it not found otherwise? Thought not the old world, and men then living, that they were wise and well, and Noah a fool, who would creep into an ark, leaving his house, lands, and possessions? for I think he was in an honest state for the world; but, I pray you, who was wise when the flood came? Abraham, I trow, was counted a fool to leave his own country and friends, kyth and kin, because of God's word; but, dearly beloved, we know it proved otherwise.

I will leave all the patriarchs, and come to Moses, and the Children of Israel. Tell me, were not they thought to be overcome and stark mad, when for fear of Pharaoh, at God's word, they ran into the Red Sea? Did not Pharaoh and the Egyptians, think themselves sure of the victory? But, I trow, it proved clean contrary. Saul was thought well, and David in an evil case and most miserable, because he had no hole to hide him in; but yet, at the length, Saul's misery was seen, and David's felicity began to appear.

The prophet Micaiah being cast into prison, for telling Ahab the truth, was thought to be overcome of Zedekiah and the other false prophets: but, my good brethren and sisters, the holy history telleth otherwise. Who did not think the prophets unhappy in their time? For they were slain, imprisoned, laughed to scorn, and jested at of every man. And so were all the apostles, yea, the dearly beloved friend of God; than whom, among the children of women, none arose greater; I mean John Baptist, who was beheaded, and that in prison, even for a dancing damsel's desire. As all these to the judgment of reason, were then counted heretics, runagates, unlearned, fools, fishers, publicans, &c.; so now unhappy and overcome indeed, if God's Word and Faith did not shew the contrary.

But what speak I of these? Look upon Jesus Christ, to whom we must be like fashioned here, if we will be like him elsewhere. How say ye, was not he taken for a most fool, a seditious person, a new fellow, an heretic, and one overcome of every body? Yea, even forsaken both of God and men. But the end told them and telleth us another tale; for now is he in majesty and glory unspeakable. When he was led to Pilate, or Herod, or when he was in

prison in Caiaphas's house, did not there reason think that he was overcome? When he was beaten, buffeted, scourged, crowned with thorns, hanged upon the cross, and utterly left of all his disciples; taunted of the high priests and holy fathers, cursed of the commons, railed on of the magistrates, and laughed to scorn of the lewd heathen; would not a man then have thought, that he had been out of the way, and his disciples fools, to follow him and believe him?

Think ye that whilst he did lie in his grave, men did not point with their fingers, when they saw any that had followed and loved him, or believed in him and his doctrine, saying: Where is their master and teacher now? What, is he gone? Forsooth, if they had not been fools, they might well have known, that this learning he taught, could not long continue. Our doctors and Pharisees are no fools, now they may see. On this sort either men spake, or might have spoken, against all such as loved Christ or his doctrine; but yet at the length, they and all such were proved fools and wicked wretches. For our Saviour arose, maugre their beards, and published his Gospel plentifully, spite of their heads, and the heads of all the wicked world, with the great powers of the same; always overcoming, and then most of all, when he and his doctrine were thought to have the greatest fall. As now, dearly beloved, the wicked world rejoiceth; the papists are puffed up against poor Christ and his people, after their old kind; now cry they out, Where are these new found preachers? Are they not in the Tower, Marshalsea, Fleet, and beyond the seas? Who would have thought that our old bishops, doctors, and deans were fools, as they would have made us to believe; and indeed have persuaded some already, who are not of the wisest, especially if they come not home again, to the Holy Church?

These and such like words they have, to cast in our teeth, as triumphers and conquerors. But, dearly beloved, short is their joy, they beguile themselves.

This is but a lightning before their death. As God after he had given the Jews a time to repent, visited them by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, most horribly to their utter subversion, delivering first all his people from among them; even so, my dear brethren, will he do with this age. When he hath tried his children from amongst them, as now he beginneth, and by suffering hath made us look to his

Christ; and by being overcome, to overcome indeed to our eternal comfort; then will he, if not otherwise, come himself in the clouds, I mean our dear Lord whom we confess, preach, and believe on: he will come, I say, with the blast of a trump and shout of an archangel, and so shall we be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air; the angels gathering together the wicked wretches, who now welter and wallow as the world and wind blow, to be tied in bundles and cast into the fire, which burneth for ever most painfully. There and then shall they see who hath the victory, they, or we, when they shall see us afar off in Abraham's bosom; then will they say, 'Oh, we thought these folks fools, and had them in derision; we thought their life madness, and their end to be without honour; but look how they are counted among the children of God, and their portion is with the saints. Oh, we have gone amiss, and would not hearken.' Such words as these shall the wicked say one day in hell; whereas now they triumph as conquerors. And thus much for you, thirdly, to look often upon; namely, that whatsoever is done unto you, yea, even very death itself, shall not dash or hurt you no more than it did Abel, David, Daniel, John Baptist, Jesus Christ our Lord, with other the dear saints of God, who suffered for his name's sake.

Let not reason, therefore, be judge in this matter, nor present sense, but faith and God's Word, as I have shewed. In the which, if we set before our eyes the shortness of this present time wherein we suffer, and consider the eternity to come; as our enemies and persecutors shall be in intolerable pains helpless, and we, if we persevere to the end, in such felicity and joys dangerless, as the very heart of man, in no point is able to conceive;—if we consider this, I say, we cannot but even contemn, and set nothing by, the sorrows and griefs of the cross, and lustily go through thick and thin with good courage.

Thus have I declared unto you three things, necessary to be mused on of every one, who will abide by Christ and his gospel in this troublesome time, as I trust you all will; namely, first to consider that we are not of this world, nor of the number of the worldlings or retainers to satan; that we are not at home in our own country; but of another world, of the congregation of the saints, and retainers to Christ; although in a region replete and full of untractable enemies.

Secondly, that we may not think it a strange thing to be persecuted for God's Gospel, from the which the dearest friends of God were in no age free; as indeed it is impossible that they should any long time be, their enemies being always about them, to destroy them if they could. And, thirdly, that the assaults of our enemies, be they never so many and fierce, in no point shall be able to prevail against our faith, albeit to reason it seemeth otherwise. Wherethrough we ought to conceive a good courage and comfort; for who will be afraid, when he knoweth the enemies cannot prevail?

Now will I for the more encouraging you to the cross, give you a further *memorandum;* namely, of the commodities and profits which come by the trouble and afflictions, now risen and to arise to us, who be God's children elect, through Jesus Christ. But here look not to have a rehearsal of all the commodities which come by the cross, to such as are exercised well therein, for that were more than I can do. I will only speak of a few, thereby to occasion you to gather, and at the length to feel and perceive more.

First, in that there is no cross which cometh upon any of us, without the counsel of our heavenly Father;—for as for the fancy of fortune it is wicked, as many places of the Scripture do teach,—we must needs, to the commendation of God's justice, for in all his doings he is just,—acknowledge in ourselves that we have deserved at the hands of our heavenly Father, this his cross or rod fallen upon us. We have deserved it, if not by our unthankfulness, slothfulness, negligence, intemperance, uncleanness, and other sins committed often by us, whereof our consciences can and will accuse us, if we call them to counsel, with the examination of our former life, yet at least by our original and birth sin; as by doubting of the greatness of God's anger and mercy, by self love, concupiscence, and such like sins; which as we brought them with us into this world, so do the same alway abide in us, and even as a spring, do always bring something forth in act with us, notwithstanding the continual fight of God's Spirit in us against it.

The first commodity, therefore, that the cross bringeth, is knowledge, and that double, of God and of ourselves. Of God, that he is just, pure, and hateth sin. Of ourselves, that we are born in sin, and are, from top to toe, defiled with concupiscence and corruption,

out of the which have sprung, all the evils that ever at any time we have spoken and done. The greatest and most special whereof, by the cross, we are occasioned to call to mind; as did the brethren of Joseph their evil fact against him, when the cross once came upon them. And so by it we come to the first step to get health for our souls, that is, we are driven to know our sins original and actual, by God's justice, declared in the cross.

Secondly, the end whereof God declareth his judgment against our sin, original and actual; and would, by his cross, have us to consider the same, and to call to mind our former evil deeds; the end hereof, I say, is this; that we might lament, be sorry, sigh, and pray for pardon; that so doing, we might obtain the same, by the means of faith, in the merits of Jesus Christ his dear Son. And further, we being humbled because of the evil that dwelleth in us, might become thankful for God's goodness and love, in continual watching and wariness to suppress the evil which lieth in us, that it bring not forth fruits to death at any time. This second commodity of the cross, therefore, must we not count to be a simple knowledge only, but a great gain of God's mercy; with wonderful rich and precious virtues of faith, repentance, remission of sins, humility, thankfulness, mortification, and diligence in doing good. Not that properly the cross worketh these things of itself, but because the cross is the mean and way, by the which God worketh the knowledge and feeling of these things in his children; as many, both testimonies and examples in Scripture, are easily found of them, who diligently weigh what therein they read.

To these two commodities of the cross, join the third, of God's singular wisdom, that it may be coupled with his justice and mercy. On this sort therefore, let us conceive, when we see the Gospel of God and his Church persecuted and troubled, as now with us it is; that because the great, learned, and wise men of the world use not their wisdom to love and serve God; as to natural wisdom and reason, he openeth himself manifestly by his visible creatures; therefore doth God justly infatuate and make them foolish, giving them up to unsensibleness, especially herein. For on this manner reason they, concerning the affliction which cometh for the Gospel; If, say they, this were God's word, if these people were God's

children, surely God would then bless and prosper them and their doctrine. But now, in that there is no doctrine so much hated, no people so much persecuted as they be, therefore it cannot be of God. Rather this is of God, which our Queen and old Bishops have professed. For how hath God preserved them and kept them? What a notable victory hath God given unto her, where it was impossible that things should so have come to pass, as they have done? And did not the great captain* confess his fault, that he was out of the way, and not of the faith which these gospellers profess? How many are come again, from that which they professed to be God's Word? The most part of this realm, notwithstanding the diligence of preachers to persuade them concerning this new learning, which now is persecuted, never consented to it in heart, as experience teacheth. And what plagues have come upon this realm since this Gospel, as they call it, came in amongst us? Afore we had plenty, but now there is nothing like as it was. Moreover all the houses of the Parliament, have overthrown the laws made for the establishing of this Gospel and religion, and new laws are erected for the continuance of the contrary.

How miraculously doth God confound their doctrine and confirm ours? For how was Wyat overthrown? How prosperously came in our King? How hath God blessed our Queen with fruit of the womb? How is the Pope's Holiness restored again to his right? All these do teach plainly, that this their doctrine is not God's word.

Thus reason the worldly wise, who see not God's wisdom. For else, if they considered that there was with us, unthankfulness for the Gospel, no amendment of life; but that all kind of contempt of God, all kind of shameless sinning ensued the preaching of the Gospel; they must needs see that God could not but chastise and correct; and as he let satan loose, after he had bound him a certain time, for unthankfulness of men, so he has let these champions of satan run abroad, by them to plague us for our unthankfulness. Great was God's anger against Ahab, because he saved Benhadad, King of Syria, after he had given him into his hands; and afterward it

* Northumberland, who recanted.

turned to his own destruction. God would that double sorrow should have been repaid to them, by cause of the sorrow they did to the saints of God. Read the eighteenth of the Revelations.

As for the victory given to the Queen's Highness, if men had only godly wit, they might see many things in it. First, God hath done it to win her heart to the Gospel. Again, he hath done it, as well because they that went against her, put their trust in horses and power of men, and not in God; as because in their doing, they sought not the propagation of God's Gospel; which thing is now plainly seen. Therefore, no marvel why God fought against them; would they were hypocrites, and under the cloak of the Gospel, would have debarred the Queen's Highness of her right, but God would not so cloak them.

Now, for the relenting, returning, and recanting of some, from that which they once professed or preached; alas, Who would wonder at it? for they never came to the Gospel, but for commodity and gain's sake, and now for gain, they leave it. The multitude is no good argument, to move a wise man. For who knoweth not more to love this world, better than heaven? themselves, better than their neighbours? Wide is the gate, saith Christ, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat; but strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life; and few there be that find it. All the whole multitude cry out upon Jesus, crucify him, truss him up; but, I trow, not because they were the bigger part, therefore, they were to be believed. All Chaldea followed still their false gods; only Abraham followed the true God. And where they say the greater plagues are fallen upon the realm, in poverty and such other things, than before, is no argument to move others, than such as love their swine, better than Christ. For the devil chiefly desireth his seat to be in religion. If it be there, then he will meddle with nothing we have; all shall be quiet enough. But if he be raised thence, then will he beg leave to have at our pigs. Read Matthew viii., of the Gergesites. As long as with us he had the ruling of religion, which now he hath gotten again, then was he Robin good-fellow; he would do no hurt. But when he was tumbled out of his throne, by preaching of the Gospel, then ranged he about as he hath done, but secretly.

Finally, effectual he hath not been, but in the children of unbelief. Them indeed hath he stirred up to be covetous oppressors, blasphemers, usurers, whoremongers, thieves, murderers, tyrants; and yet, perchance, he suffered them to profess the Gospel, the more thereby to hinder it, and cause it to be slandered.

How many now do appear to have been true gospellers? As for the Parliament, and statutes thereof, no man of wisdom can think otherwise, but that (look what the rulers will) the same must there be enacted. For it goeth not in those houses by the better part, but by the bigger part. And it is a common saying, and no less true; *major pars vincit meliorem*, the greater part overcometh the better. So they did in condemning Christ, not regarding the counsel of Nicodemus. So they did also in many general councils. But all wise men know the Acts of Parliament are not for God's law in respect of God's law, but in respect of the people. Now what we are, God knoweth, and all the world seeth; more meet a great deal, to have the devil's decrees, than God's religion; so great is our contempt of it; and therefore, justly for our sins, as Job saith, God hath set hypocrites to reign over us, who can no more abide God's true religion, than the owl the light, or bleared eyes the bright sun; for it will have them, to do their duties, and walk in diligent doing, of the works of their vocation. If God's word, I mean, had place, bishops could not play chancellors and idle prelates, as they do. Priests should be otherwise known, than by their shaven crowns and tippets. But enough of this.

As for miracles of success against Wyat and others, of the King's coming in, &c.; I would to God men would consider two kinds of miracles; one, to prepare and confirm men in the doctrine, which they have received; and another, to prove and try men, how they have received it, and how they will stick unto it. Of the former these miracles be not, but of the second. Now, by this success given to the Queen, God trieth whether we will stick to his truth, simply for his truth's sake, or no. This is a mighty elusion, which God sendeth to prove his people, and to deceive the hypocrites; who receive not God's truth simply, but in respect of gain, praise, estimation. Read how Ahab was deceived. 2 *Thess.* ii. *Deut.* xiii.

But I will now return to the third commodity, coming by the

cross. Here let us see the wisdom of God, in making the wisdom of the world foolish, which knoweth little of man's corruption, how foul it is in the sight of God, and displeaseth him; which knoweth little the portion of God's people to be in another world; which knoweth little the patron of christians, Christ Jesus; which knoweth little the general judgment of God; the great malice of satan to God's people; the price and estimation of the Gospel; and therefore in the cross, seeth not as God's wisdom would we should see, namely, that God in punishing them who sin least, would have his anger against sin seen most, and to be better considered and feared.

In punishing his people here, he kindleth their desire towards their restful home. In punishing his servants in this life, he doth conform and make them like to Christ; that as they be like in suffering, so shall they be in reigning. In punishing his Church in the world, he doth give a demonstration of his judgment which shall come on all men, when the godly shall there find rest, though now they be afflicted; and the wicked, now wallowing in wealth, shall be wrapped in woe and smart. In punishing the professors of his Gospel on earth, he setteth forth the malice of satan against the Gospel and his people; for the more confirming of their faith, and the Gospel to be God's word indeed, and they to be God's people: for else the devil would let them alone.

In punishing the lovers of his truth, more than others who care not for it; he putteth them in mind, how they have not had in price as they should have had, the fuel of his word and Gospel. Before such trial and experience came, perchance they thought they had believed and had had faith, which now they see was but a lip faith, a mock faith, or an opinion. All which things we see are occasions for us to take better heed, by mean of the cross. Therefore thirdly, let us consider the cross to be commodious for us, to learn God's wisdom, and what is man's foolishness; God's displeasure at sin; a desire to be with God; the conformity with Christ; the general judgment; the malice of satan; hatred of sin; the Gospel to be God's Word, and how it is to be esteemed, &c. Thus much for this.

Now I will, fourthly, briefly shew you the cross or trouble, to be profitable for us to learn and behold better the providence, presence,

and power of God, that all these may be coupled together, as in a chain, to hang about our necks; I mean God's justice, mercy, wisdom, power, presence, and providence. When all things be in rest, and men be not in trouble, then they are forgetful of God commonly; and attribute too much to their own wisdom, policies, providence, and diligence; as though they were the procurers of their own fortune, and workers of their own weal. But when the cross cometh, and that in such sort as their wits, policies, and friends cannot help; though the wicked despair, run from God to saints, and such other unlawful means; yet do the godly therein behold the presence, the providence, and power of God. For the Scripture teacheth all things to come from God, weal and woe; and that the same should be looked upon as God's work, although satan, the devil, be often an instrument, by whom God worketh justly and mercifully. Justly to the wicked, and mercifully to the godly: as by the examples of wicked Saul and godly Job, easily we may see God's work by satan, his instrument in them both.

The children of God, therefore, who before forgot God in prosperity; now in adversity are awakened to see God in his work, and no more to hang on their own forecasts, power, friends, wisdom, riches, &c.; but learn to cast themselves on God's providence and power, whereby they are so preserved and governed, and very often miraculously delivered; that the very wicked cannot but see God's providence, presence, and power, in the cross and affliction of his children; as they (his children I mean), to their joy do feel it, thereby learning to know God, to be the governor of all things. HE IT IS THAT GIVETH PEACE; HE IT IS THAT SENDETH WAR; HE GIVETH PLENTY AND POVERTY; HE SETTETH UP AND CASTETH DOWN; HE BRINGETH DEATH AND AFTER GIVETH LIFE; HIS PRESENCE IS EVERY WHERE; HIS PROVIDENCE IS WITHIN AND WITHOUT; HIS POWER IS THE PILLAR, WHEREBY THE GODLY STAND, AND TO IT THEY LEAN, AS TO THE THING NO LESS ABLE TO SET UP, THAN TO CAST DOWN; which thing full well the apostle saw in his afflictions, and therefore greatly rejoiced in them, that *eminentia virtutis Dei*, God's power, might singularly be seen therein.

Concerning this thing, I might bring forth innumerable examples of the affliction of God's children, both in the Old and New Testa-

ment; wherein we may see how they felt God's presence, providence, and power plentifully. But I will omit examples, because every one of us that have been or be in trouble cannot but, by the same, remember God's presence, which we feel by his hand upon us; his providence which leaveth us not unprovided for, without any of our own provision; and his power which both preserveth us from many other evils, which else would come upon us, and also maketh us able to bear more, than we thought we could have done. So very often doth he deliver us by such means, as have been thought most foolish, and little to have been regarded; and therefore we shake off our sleep of security, and forgetting of God our trust and shift in our own policies; our hanging on men, or on our own power. So that the cross you see, is commodious, fourthly, for to see God's presence, providence, and power, and our own negligence, forgetfulness of God, security, self-love, trust, and confidence in ourselves; and things in this life to be cast off, as the other are to be taken hold on. And this shall suffice for the commodities which come by the cross, wherethrough we may be in love with it for the commodities sake; which at length we shall find, though presently in sense we feel them not. No castigation or punishment is sweet for the present instant, saith the apostle, but afterwards the end and work of the thing is otherwise. As we see in medicines, the more wholesome that they be, the more unpleasant is the taste thereof; as in pills, potions, and such like bitter stuff; yet we will, on the physician's word, drink them gladly for the profit which cometh of them. And, dearly beloved, although to lose life and goods, or friends for God's Gospel sake, it seem a bitter and sour thing; yet in that our physician who cannot lie, Jesus Christ I mean, doth tell us that it is very wholesome, howsoever it be lothsome, let us, with good cheer, take the cup at his hand and drink it merrily. If the cup seem unpleasant, and the drink too bitter, let us put some sugar therein, even a piece of that, which Moses cast into the bitter water, and made the same pleasant; I mean an ounce, yea a dram, of Christ's afflictions and cross, which he suffered for us. If we call this to mind, and cast them into our cup, (considering what he was, what he suffered, of whom, for whom, to what end, and what came thereof), surely we cannot loth our medicine, but wink and drink it lustily.

Lustily therefore drink the cup which Christ giveth, and will give unto you, my good brethren and sisters; I mean prepare yourselves to suffer, whatsoever God will lay upon you, for the confessing of his holy name. If not because of these three things, that ye are not of the world; ye suffer not alone, your trouble shall not hurt you; yet for the commodities which come of the cross, I beseech you heartily to embrace it. The fight is but short, the joy is exceeding great. *Oportet semper orare*, we must pray alway. Then shall we, undoubtedly, be directed in all things by God's Holy Spirit, which Christ hath promised to be our doctor, teacher, and comforter, and therefore we need not to fear, what man or devil can do unto us, either by false teaching or cruel persecution; for our pastor is such a one, that none can take his sheep out of his hands.

Thus much, my dear brethren and sisters in our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I thought good to write unto you for your comfort. From the which, if ye for fear of man, loss of goods, friends, or life, do swerve or depart, then ye depart and swerve from Christ; and so snarl* yourselves in satan's sophistry, to your utter subversion. Therefore, as Saint Peter saith, watch and be sober, for as a roaring lion, he seeketh to devour you. Be strong in faith, that is, mammer not, nor waver not in God's promises, but believe certainly, that they pertain to you; that God is with you in trouble; that he will deliver you, and glorify you. But yet see that ye call upon him, specially, that ye enter not into temptation, as he taught his disciples, even at such time as he saw satan desire to sift them, as now he hath done to sift us. O, dear Saviour, prevent him now, as thou didst then, with thy prayer, I beseech thee; and grant that our faith faint not; but strengthen us to confirm the weak, that they deny not thee and thy Gospel; that they return not to their vomit, stumbling on those sins from the which there is no recovery; causing thee to deny them before thy Father; making their latter end worse than the beginning; as it chanced to Lot's wife, Judas Iscariot, Francis Spira, and to many others. But rather strengthen them and us all in thy grace, and in those things which thy word teacheth, that we may here hazard our life for thy sake, and so shall

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* Intangle.—*Bailey.*

we be sure to save it; as if we seek to save it, we cannot but lose it; and that being lost, what profit can we have, if we win the whole world? Oh, set thou always before our eyes, not as reason doth, this life, the pleasure of the same, death of the body, and imprisonment, &c.; but everlasting life, and those unspeakable joys which undonbtedly they shall have, who take up the cross and follow thee; and eternal hell fire and destruction of soul and body for evermore, which they must needs at length fall into; who are afraid for the hoar frost of adversity, that man or the devil stirreth up, to stop or hinder us for going forward in our journey to heaven's bliss, to the which do thou bring us, for thy name's sake, Amen.

Your own in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.

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THE following eulogium upon King Edward VI., for whom all the reformers deservedly entertained the most affectionate regard, is, perhaps, not inferior to any of Bradford's other productions.—"You all know, he was but a child in years; defiled he was not with notorious offences; defiled, quoth he! nay, rather adorned, with so many goodly gifts, and wonderful qualities, as never prince was, from the beginning of the world; should I speak of his wisdom, of his ripeness in judgment, of his learning, of his godly zeal, heroical heart, fatherly care for his commons, nurse-like solicitude for religion, &c.*

* This is well evidenced by that monarch's dying prayer, as taken from his lips almost in extremis.—"Lord God, deliver me out of this wretched and miserable life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit,

Nay, so many things are to be spoken, in the commendation of God's exceeding graces in this child, that, as Sallust writeth of Carthage, I had rather speak nothing, than too little, in that too much is too little. This gift God gave unto us Englishmen, before all nations, under the sun; and that of his exceeding love towards us. But alas and wellaway, for our unthankfulness' sake, for our carnality, and profane living; God's anger hath touched, not only the body, but also the mind of our King, by a long sickness, and at length hath taken him away, by death, death, cruel death, fearful death."*

The whole may be properly concluded by the following lines, by an unknown author, from an original MS. never before published.

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not my will, but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health that I may truly serve thee. Oh, my Lord God, bless my people, and save their inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O Lord God, defend this realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake."—Prayer apud finem King Edward VI.'s own arguments. (London 1682.)—See also the remains of this *ever-to-be-lamented* monarch; and the learned Cardan's encomium upon him, in Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. ii. pt. i. 3. and pt. ii. 124.

* Bradford's epistle, prefixed to his sermon on repentance, preached six days after Edward's decease.

## IN OBITU BRADFORDI.*

Plangite Bradfordum, lachrymis nec parcite vestris,
Quo magis in toto vixerat orbe pius:
Namque sacri verus cognoscitur ille minister
Verbi, religio *vera quousque fuit.*†
Dogmata quæ docuit vivendo præstitit ipse,
Vitaque cum verbo iuncta fuere simul.
Permansit constans mortem constanter adusque,
Nec potuit mundi gaza movere virum.
Non valet a recto Bradfordum, quem tulit, ignis
Flectere, sed verum quæsiit usque Deum.
Captum sollicitant rectum contemnere iniqui,
* * * * * ‡ Viro quas habet orbis opes.
Noluit ille tamen verum contemnere numen,
Sperans fœlicem post sua fata diem.
Horrida pro Christo patiens tormenta ferebat,
Ejus despiciens quicquid amore grave est.
Ingemit heu populus, Smithfelda jam moriendum
Fama *celer*§ vati, cum tulit, esse suo.
Quod verum est docuit, gessit se fronte benigna,
Qua cunctos placidus torsit amore pios.
Nullus eum justus, cupiunt extinguere soli,
Qui leges torquent ad sua vota, mali.
O malè crudeles! quis, dicite, viderit unquam,
Tot, flammæ pœnas morte dedisse, pios?
Dic mihi quis ferret vestrum papista tyrannus
Flammam, sed potius Protheus usque foret?

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* MS. Harl. Mus. Brit. No. 416. Fol. 38.

† Dummodo vera fuit.

‡ Promittuntque. The words here erased are not intelligible.

§ Velox.

Dicendi veniam suprema morte negastis,
Ast vulgus signis credidit omne datis.
Voce viam, tendens pius ad sua fata, replevit,
Hoc rogat, ut populi possit habere preces.
Cum loca contigerit vitam* linqueret ille,
Sponte tenens flammam, lux mea dixit, ave.
Cum sene Bradfordo, *rectum quod spernere nollet*,†
Est quidam, indomitó qui fuit igne comes.
Sed populi gemitus imo de pectore ducunt,
Cum mala tam justos tanta tulisse vident.

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* Queis.

† Iuvenis cognomine Lefus. This refers to a pious apprentice of the name of John Leafe, who was burned at the same time with Bradford.—Acts and Mon. iii. 306.

# APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

## NOTE (A.) P. 2.

THIS statement seems hardly consistent with the following account from Strype: "Whilst in his service once he took up some money, and that it seems in his master's name, which he was not able presently to repay. But interest and application were made by friends on his behalf, and at length, in May, 1548, his master was prevailed with to pay the debt for him, and he to become debtor to his master; and so Sir John bound himself, under his hand, to pay the sum before Candlemas next ensuing. But while this thing depended, which he called in his letters his great thing, the conscience of his fault did exceedingly affect him. He confessed his fault to his master, owned his debt, offered all the satisfaction he could; and because, beside confession and repentance, restitution was required, which he was not yet able enough in purse to do, he intended to offer himself to be a bondman to his creditor, according as he read in the Jewish law. Concerning this intention of his, he writ to a faithful friend, Father Traves, I suppose, desiring him to resort to Latimer, who was privy to this

matter, and advise with him concerning this selling of his body to make restitution. When he came to the Reverend Father, he was busy in preparing a sermon to be preached the next Sunday before the King, but in short, signified his dislike of so rigorous and unusual a course, and said that he would not have him go so far; and that better counsel, or more, he could not give him, than he had before done, viz. that he should wait, and commit the whole to God. He consulted also with his aforesaid friend, and poured out his trouble into his bosom, fearing much lest he should die before he had made his restitution. But soon after, going to study in Cambridge, means was made that the debt was paid, and his heart set at rest.—*Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* 1. 366.

But Fox must have known the merits of the case much better than Strype, and as it is clear from the correspondence with Traves that Fox was aware of the transaction, he could never have made the statement in the text if it had borne the character of delinquency towards Bradford's master. From the expressions in his letters to Traves the culpable act seems clearly to have been one of connivance, rather than of participation, for otherwise how could he possibly inveigh against Sir John Harrington so loudly for not making restitution? There is not a single expression which points to his own guilt beyond that of connivance at the fraudulent act of Sir John, whose conscience he condemns for not making restitution, and whom he threatens with disclosure in case he neglects to do so. Strype gives no evidence that Bradford became bound to Sir John Harrington for repayment of the money, nor does the following letter from Traves to Bradford, and to which Strype refers as explaining the transaction, allude to such a circumstance. This letter we give at length.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. Ye shal understond, that after the receipt of your letters, I declared to Mr. Latymer the sum that ye writ to me concerning your matter with your maister. When I came to that place, that you offered yourself to be a bondman, he misliked it, and said, though by Goddis word appeareth, that to make restitution we ought to sel ourselves; yet wold I not, sayed he, that he should go so far with his maister. I asked, him what counsil he wold gyve you; he said, better counsil, or more than I have gyven him, I cannot. Let him tary, and, commytting the whole to God, work by leysure. More cowld I not get of him; nor durst I not troble hym, for bycause he was studiously occupyed in preparing a sermon to be preached, if God wil, before the kyng this next Sonday. He knowith not certaynly whether he shal thereto be called, but as yet judgith. What his counsel is, ye have herd.

Ye procede and ask my counsel. Alas! You know that I am but a very block, yea, more dumb than a dumb idol; as lytel help in me as in the block of Walsingham.* Earnestly I protest, that I know not what nor how to counsil

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* This alludes to an image of the Virgin Mary in the famous Priory of Walsingham, commonly called in the age of idolatry and superstition, our Lady of Walsingham. Walsingham Priory was situated in Norfolk, not far from Fakenham.

The chapel was founded there in honour of the Virgin in 1061. The Priory Church was a grand edifice, but the greatest beauty and glory of this Priory was the chapel of the blessed Virgin, founded in honour of the Annuntiation. Erasmus describes it as a small chapel, all of wood, on each side of which is a little narrow door, where those are admitted who came with their offerings and paid their devotions, and had no light but from the wax candles, the odour of which was delightful; and glittered with jewels, gold and silver, insomuch that it seemed to be the seat of the Gods. At the altar here was a canon resident who received and took care of the offerings.

you: but pray, pray, and commyt yourself wholly to God. Wish an encreas of that desire that ye have to make restitution. And whether that God wil so enrich you, that ye

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So great was the fame of this idol or image of the Lady of Walsingham that foreigners of all nations, came on a pilgrimage to her, insomuch that the number of her devotees and worshippers seemed to equal those of the Lady of Loretto in Italy, and the town of Walsingham Parva owed its chief support and maintenance thereto. Amongst the other royal and noble dupes of idolatrous imposture, King Henry VII. mentions in his will, that he had ordered an image of silver and gilt to be made and offered up, and set before the Lady of Walsingham. Isabel, Countess of Warwick, in 1439 bequeathed her tablet with the image of our Lady, to the Church of Walsingham, which had a glass over it; also to the Lady there, her gown of alyz cloth of gold, with wide sleeves, and a tabernacle of silver, like in the timbre to that of our Lady of Caversham.

So superstitious, so weak and credulous were the commonality, that they believed the galaxy or milky way was appointed by providence to point out the particular place and residence of the Virgin, and was on that account generally in that age called *Walsingham Way*.

This image, or block of wood, was brought through London to Chelsea in the 30th of Henry VIII., and there publicly burnt.—Bloomfield's Norfolk, vol. v. 835, 840.

Besides this idol at Walsingham, there were several other gross impositions, and amongst others, the Rood of Grace at Bexley, in Kent, where a Duck's Blood was exhibited, as that of the Saviour—and Darvel Gadern, which was brought up from Wales, and burned, and turned out to be the statue of an old bishop.—Herbert's Henry VIII. 496.

But the affected liberality of the present day will perhaps inquire why repeat and attempt to perpetuate these antiquated mummeries? the answer is ready, because they are still practised wherever Papists think they can do so without exposing themselves to ridicule. When once such fooleries and iniquities are renounced and anathematized by *Papal authority*, but not till then, Protestants will merit censure for repeating and exhibiting them. What will Papists say to the Veronica or sacred handkerchief? and to the blasphemous pictures of the Marriage of the Divine Saviour with Catharine, a nun of Sienna, with which the whole Papal continent abounds! "It is common in these temples (viz. the

shal be able to pay it, or that he wil move your maister, so that he wil and shal pay it, commit it to God with ernest desire and faithful prayer, that at length, yet when his mercyful ey shal se most meet, he wil unburden you of your check; and look for his help in peace. I mean no such beastly security as is in me; but with pacyent suffering, without wrything, wrasting, or doubtyng of his promis, without desperate voices, thoughts, gronyngs, or woes. For the Lord knowith whan and how to delyver them that trust in him, for their best avayle; yea, mawgre the berdis of al hard harts, God wil at length, man, delyver thee. In the mean tyme, be neyther stock nor stone, but labour for your part towardis the ending of it, as opportunyty shal serve; whether

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Pantheon &c. at Rome,) to find the shrine of some antient hero, filled by the meaner statue of some modern saint: while in other instances, they have not even given themselves the trouble to make this change; but have been content to take up with the old image just as they found it, after baptizing or consecrating it anew by the imposition of a Christian name; as in the Church of St. Agnes the antique statue of a young Bacchus, with a little change of drapery, was afterwards worshipped under the title of that female saint. The famous statue of St. Peter in his Cathedral at Rome is seated in a chair, and he holds a key in his hand—the well known position of Jupiter; who however held a thunderbolt. The history of this statue is rather curious: there were formerly two statues of Jupiter Capitolinus, one of stone, the other of bronze. When Christianity succeeded to Heathenism, they put Peter's head on the body of the stone statue, and gave him a pair of new hands, in one of which they placed a key; they then melted the bronze of the other statue of Jupiter, and re-cast it, after the fashion of the stone one, as altered; and so the worship went on quite as well to the modern apostle, as it had done to the antient thunderer. In either case, the true God was neglected and forgotten, and an image was set up in his place, "which had eyes and saw not, and which had ears and heard not, neither was their any breath in its nostrils."—Letters on the Paganism of Popery, by Ignotus, p. 34. See also Ventess' Letter of Congratulation, Notes, E. F. Rome in the xix Century, vol. i. 58. vol. iii. 156.

in moving him agayn, (as I would surely wish to do,) or labouring to gather of your own for the payment therof. Do it freely, but do al in the name of the Lord, in al thyngs gyving thanks to God the Father, thorow Jesus Christ. And the most mighty God move the hart of your maister to enrich you to your unburdenyng, even whan his wil shal be.

Despair not, thowgh al in hast it be not repayed, as though ye were a man forlore, for that the payment is not made; but rather gyve thanks to God even hartily, for that he hath opened the fault unto you, and hath gyven you a conscience in it. For he might have gyven you up into a lewd mynd, which shuld, nothyng regardyng it, have cryed peace, peace, untyl sudden destruction had cummen. But God of his mercy hath opened it to you; not that ye shuld delight in it, (as, Oh! forgive me, that I do, in commemoration of my iniquity, much more delight, than sorrow,) but that it shuld be a schole, a cross, a vexation, and perturbation of mynd unto you. Ita tamen, that ye must be void from that desperate solicitude, and with this, that God hath gyven you an ernest desire to recompence; which is a great comfort, a signifying, that thowgh ye be a wretch and a synner, yet God is with you and in you. Who can then harm you?

But how shal I do, if I dy, say you, this being unpayd? I say, God hath gyven you a desyre to pay it, but not a power. Is God so cruel, trow ye, that he wil exact of you to do that that is impossible for you to do? Are ye able to pay it? Then pay it. Are ye not able? Have a contynual desire, which is to be begged of God, to pay, and, in the name of God, work so long as ye live, as God shal lead you towards the payment of it. And yf ye dy before the satisfaction, yet I thynk ye shal go without peryl. For I beleve the synn is forgyven alredy, for Christis sake.

There remayneth then by the doctor's mynd but restitution; and I believe that you have animum restituendi, and ernestly labourith and followith, upon Goddis preparation, toward the restitution; the same hath made a good restitution, if ye dy before a ful restitution.

But indede that substance that ye have at that tyme gathered together, must go fully towards it. But what talk ye of death? God is able to make you to make restitution, even tomorrow. Pray contynually for his help, and ease to unburden that way, which he knowith to be best for you. And I dare say, that for Jesus's sake, he wil both hear and help you. But pray not, appointing God ony tyme; sed expecta Dominum, donec misereatur tui, with ful submission, even in a pacient, faithful mynd to his wil. O how arrogantly take I upon me to babble. But as I scribble, so do I but partly; follow not me, Bradford, follow not me, for I am a very impenitent beast. I tell you of restitution? Oh! Lord, spare me; gyve me not up altogether to a lewd impenitent hart, in which I procure heaps of wrath. Lord, help, for Christis sake, help me. Al that I do, I do it in syn and vain glory. Yet shal not the devil let me to wryte. For out of the wyld fig tree some profit may cum. But no thank to the tree, but to the Creator.

Now foolishly further wil I go. I wold not offer myself into bondage to that erthly maister. Ye know not what bondage meanith. Be it that I speak but carnally, I speak as I am. I wold not but thynk assuredly, that as God hath gyven me that grace to knowledg my debt, being free, that same Lord of his mercy wil, and is able at ease, to work in my freedom the discharge of my debt.*

Dr. Kippis, or whoever was the author of the article,

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* Strype Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 2. 285. Catalogue, No. xxxiii.

Bradford, in the Biographia Britannica, seems to adopt the view taken by Strype, and gives the following extract from Sampson's Life of Bradford, prefixed to two of this reformer's sermons.

"He was much helped by a continual meditation and practice of repentance and faith in Christ; in which he was kept, by God's grace, notably exercised all the days of his life; and that, even in this mean time (of those obstructions) he heard a sermon,* which that notable preacher, Master Latimer made before King Edward VI. in which he did earnestly speak of restitution to be made of things falsely gotten; which did so strike Bradford to the heart, *for one dash of a pen which he had made, without the knowledge of his master, as full often I have heard him confess, with plenty of tears;* being clerk to the treasurer of the king's camp beyond the seas, and was to the deceiving of the king, that he could never be quiet, till, by the advice of the same M. Latimer, a restitution was made: which thing to bring to pass, he did willingly forbear and forego all the private and certain patrimony which he had on earth. Let all bribers, and purloining officers, which get to themselves great revenues on earth, by such slippery shifts, follow his example, lest taking a contrary course, they take a contrary way, and never come where Bradford now is." *Biog. Brit. vol.* ii. 541.

It must be acknowledged this is strong evidence of individual and exclusive delinquency; but the complaints

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* The sermon which produced this effect was most probably that on covetousness.—Latimer's Sermons, vol. i. 270. London, 1788. And in which there is a passage which is generally supposed to allude to this very transaction, but which, as it is inserted in the Biog. Brit. vol. ii. 542. Nota, and more lately by Mr. Soames, Hist. Reform. vol. iv. 421. it would be improper now to repeat.

and reproaches which are contained in Bradford's letters to Traves, seem perfectly irreconcileable with the above account given by Sampson.

Still less reconcileable with such delinquency is Bradford's own declaration, when under his last examination, and when the stake and faggot were plainly before him—for when Gardiner charged him with having deceived his master of seven score pounds, Bradford indignantly replied, "my Lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face that *ever I deceived* my master, and as you are Chief Justice by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it."—*Fox* iii. 289.

Mr. Soames, in his very useful history of the Reformation, (vol. iv. 420), seems to take it for granted that Bradford was the exclusive delinquent; but the following are the remarks of M. Chalmers. "His exchanging so profitable a situation for the clerical profession is rather obscurely accounted for by his biographers, some attributing it to his having imbibed the principles of the reformers, and being encouraged to join their number; others to certain abuses in Sir John Harrington's office, in which, he either participated, or at which he connived, and the iniquity of which first struck him, on hearing a sermon of Bishop Latimer upon the subject of restitution. There is much reason, however, to doubt whether this sermon was not subsequent to the restitution he made of about £.500, which he apprehended the king had lost, by some error in his and Sir John Harrington's accounts."

"The fact seems to have been that Bradford was a man of great tenderness of conscience, and where he imagines he had done an injury, was restless until he had made restitution; and lamented his crime on this occasion with

more bitterness than will be thought necessary, by many persons, who have been intrusted with much larger public accounts."—*Chalmers' Biography, Voce Bradford.*

## NOTE (B.) P. 9.

It is not to be collected from expressions similar to this, which are to be found in the following letters, as well as in the writings of the most eminent christians, in those periods of the church, when the life and spirit of religion have been most conspicuous; that the writer was really the infamous character, *before men,* which such expressions would import. Thus in the writings of that eminent reformer Luther, many passages are to be found, whence the papists lay to his charge enormous crimes which he never committed. Men of the world, and those who are unacquainted with christian experience, and the conflict which frequently, *not always,* takes place in the souls of the children of God, are unable to comprehend that depth of humility and excess of self abasement, which some of the most eminent, and generally *such* are the *most eminent* christians, undergo whilst under the teaching and correction of the Holy Spirit. St. Paul declared he was the *chief of sinners,** and so most probably he was in his own estimation, in respect of his persecution of the disciples of Jesus Christ, and his utter unworthiness in the sight of God; but does any one believe that the holy apostle was really a vicious or immoral character?

* 1 Tim. i. 15.

NOTE (C.) P. 29.

His ordination took place at Fulham, August 10, 1550, *Strype Eccl. Mem. vol.* ii. *pt.* 1. 403.; and in the previous month of July, he had visited Peter Martyr, at Oxford, in company with his friend Bucer.—*Ibid.* 383. It is not a little curious that whilst protestant episcopalians lay so much stress upon episcopal ordination, their episcopal brethren of the popish hierarchy, altogether deny the validity of the orders of the church of England; and thus to the last they stiled Bradford only *laicus*, thereby implying that Ridley had no power to confer orders. "One thing I observe in it (Bradford's degradation) that Bradford is stiled *laicus*, and so he is all along styled in the process, as though they disowned the ordination he received from the hands of Ridley, Bishop of London."—*Strype Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* 1. 366. How strange that men of sense and piety can be so blinded by a system as to adopt, misstate, and perpetuate, the very errors and follies they profess to condemn. The irregularity complained against did not arise out of the famous Nag's Head controversy, which originated in the consecration of Archbishop Parker, &c. in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but in respect of the Bishops, after the renuntiation of the supremacy of the Pope, being appointed by Act of Parliament, and taking out letters patent and commissions from the sovereign. Thus Ridley, who had been made a Bishop in the first year of the reign of Edward VI., held his office under such a commission. See the whole subject explained in *Collier* ii. 219. and *Burnett Refor.* vol. i. 412. ii. 8.

The Bishops from Jure Divino
Thus brought, (what cannot Kings and Queens do?)

Are now become no other thing,
Than simple vassals to the King;
And as such, he from Sees ejects,
As often, as he finds defects
That he's not willing to endure:
And all this does by Pope-like power.
*Ward's England's Refor. Canto* i. 68.

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NOTE (D.) P. 29.

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BRADFORD was not the only divine of that day who thought that the habits, as they were called, were neither more nor less than relics of popery, and at all events should be treated as matters of choice and not of imposition. Thus Rogers, Philpot, Tims, Latimer, Farrar, Taylor, and Hooper, openly declared themselves against them: and even Cranmer and Ridley, who had exercised great severity against Hooper and others, lived to see their mistakes and repent of their conduct. Cranmer being clothed in the habits of his degradation, said all this needeth not, I had myself done with this years ago. Ridley when he refused to put on the *surplice* at his degradation, and they put it on by force, vehemently inveighed against it, calling it foolish and abominable, and too fond for a vice in a play.—*Fox* iii. 500. And during his confinement in prison he wrote to Hooper, saying, that he was entirely knit to him, though in some circumstances of religion they had formerly varied a little; wherein it was *Hooper's* wisdom, and *his* (Ridley's) *own* simplicity, which had made the difference.—*Brook's Puritans vol.* i. 12. *Cov.* 44. 45.; and both Cranmer and Ridley

avowed their intention of procuring an act to abolish them. Bishop Jewel at a later period calls them "the habits of the stage and the relics of the Amorites," and even Parker says he was not fond of the cap, *the surplice*, &c. and would have been pleased with a toleration.—*Strype's Parker, App.* 41. *Neale's Puritans*, i. 158. *Pierce's Vind.* i. 44. Nor was the matter of the habits the only point in which Archbishop Cranmer meditated a more perfect reformation, and more vital separation from the practices of the Romish Church.—*Bennett's Mem. of the Reform.* 53. These authorities stand sadly in the way of those referred to by *Dr. Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. vol.* ii. 441. *Vita Bishop Hooper, Note,* and *vol.* iii. 274, *Note.* There is no doubt the matter in dispute was unimportant, but who was the party to blame, those who conscientiously refused matters that were not important, because *they thought* they approximated too closely to the errors of the papists, and by consequence the pagans; or those who attempted *forcibly* to impose such unimportant matters upon their more conscientious brethren; and who did not hesitate upon every occasion to persecute them for their nonconformity? The chief objection has always been, not in the things themselves, but in the imposition of them, as prerequisites to the exercise of the christian ministry, and can any thing be so excessively absurd and ridiculous, not to say wicked?

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NOTE (E.) P. 29.

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Upon a former occasion (in 1552), when it was in contemplation to remove Edmund Grindal from a prebendal stall to the bench, Ridley being desirous to bestow the

vacancy upon a worthy person, writes thus to Sir William Cecil and others of the council. "If they desired to know unto whom he would that dignity of the church called the chantership should be given, he told them, unto any one of the following persons;—M. Bradford, whom in my conscience said he, I *judge more worthy* to be a bishop, than many of us that be bishops already, to be parish priests."—*Strype's Grindal, p.* 11. *citing MSS. Cecilian. British Mus. Lansd. Coll. No.* 2, 104. So again, speaking of Latimer, Bradford, Knox, and Lever: Ridley says, "that they ripped so deeply in the galled backs of the great men of the court, to have purged them of the filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, filthy carnality and voluptuousness, intolerable ambition and pride, and ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes and God's word, that they of all other they could never abide."—*Strype's Parker,* i. 421. "He was a man, by whom, as I am assuredly informed, God hath and doth work wonders, in setting forth his word."—*Ridley, Strype Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* 1. 365. *Cov.* 683.

NOTE (F.) P. 29.

"He laboured so vehemently in the University at his studies, that the first year of his coming thither, he was made Master of Arts, and was soon after chosen Fellow of Pembroke Hall, where he so profited by the heavenly dexterity of his wit, that he was had in estimation of all good men."—*Griffith's Life.* After a year and some few months spent in the University, he attained his degree of Master of Arts, whereunto others are hardly admitted after long examination, and seven years study. But such was his carriage, diligence, and proficiency, that this favour,

though extraordinary, was thought well bestowed upon him, by the whole University; and lest any man may think it was rather differenced to his years, than his abilities, he was immediately hereafter, without any interposal of time, chosen Fellow of Pembroke Hall.—*Abel Redivivus*, 181. Whilst in this College he had an opportunity of serving Archbishop Whitgift, who afterwards became so great a persecutor of the Puritans. "But not easy at Queen's College, and observing probably more profession and preaching of the gospel in Pembroke Hall, the Master of that College being Bishop Ridley, and Bradford and Grindal, Fellows, he (Whitgift) was transplanted thither; where Bradford, *that holy man*, and Martyr, was his tutor, by whose recommendation and that of Grindal, he was made a Scholar and Bible Clerk by Ridley."—*Strype's Whitgift*, i. 8.

NOTE (G.) P. 57.

Fox says that Bradford remained in the Tower from the month of August 1553, till the 22d of January, 1555.—*vol.* iii. 282. And in another place, that after his last examination on the 31st of January 1555, he was committed to the Clink and thence to the Counter, whence he did not go out till he was sent to Newgate.—*vol.* iii. 291. But in this there must be some mistake, as it would leave no interval for his confinement in the King's Bench, which could not be a very short time. The authors of the *Biog. Brit. vol.* ii. 547. attempt to correct Fox, by stating that the first examination of Bradford was on January 22, 1554, but neither can this be accurate; for it is evident that Bradford was first committed to the Tower in August 1553, and was never after-

wards let out of confinement; and from the period of his first public examination in January, till his martyrdom in July, 1555, we have a regular account of his life almost day by day; besides which Fox expressly says, *vol.* iii. 283. and which is adopted by the above authors, that he remained in custody from August till his first public examination, *a year and a half*, which must necessarily have been January, 1555, and not 1554. At what period however he was removed from the Tower to the King's Bench, appears only in the incidental allusion to his effectual remonstrance with Bishop Farrar; and where Fox, *vol.* iii 282, alleges that Bradford was brought to the King's Bench, where Farrar then was, on Easter Even; it follows, therefore, that Bradford was confined in the King's Bench prison from Easter 1554, till January 30, 1555, when his last examination was finished, and he was committed first to the Clink, and then and finally to the Poultry Counter.

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NOTE (H.) P. 58.

THIS excellent person was Bishop of St. David's in the reign of Edward VI. where his zeal procured him so many enemies, among the papists and their adherents, that he was persecuted even during that reign. In that of Mary, he was apprehended and confined with Hooper, Bradford, and others; and was in an especial manner insulted and persecuted by the profligate Gardiner. He was sent to his diocese to be tried by his successor Morgan, who soon condemned and degraded him, and *handed him over to the secular power to be burned; the church never imbruing its holy hands in blood!*

Upon a young gentleman's lamenting to him the severity and painfulness of this kind of death, which he was to undergo, the holy prelate immediately answered, "If you see me once to stir, while I suffer the pains of burning, then give no credit to the truth of those doctrines for which I die. Undoubtedly says Fox,* so patiently he stood, that he never moved; but even as he stood holding up his stumps, so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell, with a staff, dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

He was burned on the south side of the Market Cross, at Carmarthen, on the 30th of March, 1555.—*Middleton's Biog. Evan.* i. 346.

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NOTE (I.) P. 62.

FRANCIS SPIRA, a Venetian lawyer of eminence in the sixteenth century. Being accused before the Papal Nuncio of favouring the tenets of the reformation, he was compelled to make a publick recantation of his opinions to save his life; and this had such an effect upon his spirits, that he was seized with a dreadful malady, which baffled all the aid of medicine, and carried him to his grave, under the most poignant agonies of mind, 1548.—*Lempriere, Voce Spira. Scot's Cont. of Milner, vol.* i. 454. *Sleidan,* 475. *Seckend. Comm. de Luth.* 601. *add.* g., who calls him SPIERA.—*M'Crie's Hist. of the Reform. in Italy,* 227. 228., from whence it appears that a life of this unhappy man was published in 1550, with a preface by Calvin.

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* Fox iii. 201. 217.

NOTE (K.) P. 65.

BESIDES these two letters there can be little doubt but that No. 11 was also written to the same nobleman; but who that nobleman actually was is not so easy to determine. "Among the rest now cast into prison, and there detained, for the profession of the gospel, I must not forget one who was noble, and the more truly noble, in that he most sincerely adhered to the *true religion* in the midst of these dangers. His name I cannot certainly assign; but I suspect him to have been the Lord Russel; who was now,* *I am sure*, a prisoner. Divers letters were now wrote to him, to comfort and establish him: which was the way used then by the preachers, when they had not the liberty of free access. It had been my lord's desire, that letters of this sort might be writ to him; declaring in what good part he took them. One of these letters, addressed to him by some pious divine unknown, probably Lever, follows.—*Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* 1. 167.

## A Consolatory LETTER to a NOBLEMAN, Imprisoned for the PROFESSION of the GOSPEL.†

I HAVE hard, that your lordshippe doth both desyre that men shuld write unto you, and that also you doo take in good part, be it but simple, that ys writen. Wheruppon I dyd bolden my self, at thys tyme, to writte unto you, though I be unknowen and also unmete hereunto. And for successe of my writing, I wyll committe that unto hym that ys able to fede without fode, and to comfort wher no hope of comfort ys; as out of myn unpleasant

* Anno. 1553.

† Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. 2. 204.

and unsaverie wordes, you ar lyke to fynd no consolation at all. But yet ys Godd's hande nor goodnes not shortened, but that hereby he may worke both your comfort and hys owne glorie, as semeth best to hys good wyll.

What greatt and continuall thanks ar all Godds children bounde to give hym, for your lordshipes incredible stoutnes in Chryst our master hys causse? Well, it ys to be consydered, that Godds woorde hath not altogether been taught and redde in vayne unto the nobles, all ar not gyrers and mockers, all ar not covetuose and ambitiouse, all ar not fleshlye and ryotuose. And wold God, that a fewe more were of that ernest zeale and boldness in Christ, whych you have declared your self to be: for then shuld not our old blyndnes thys hedlonge be tombled in upon us ageyne. The masse, wyth all the dreggs of Anti-Christ therein, wold never soo easelye nor willinglye have been receyved as yt ys. But what shall we saye, that even as a fewe be sincere and harte, so yet the major part by farre ar but holow harted and cold. And such, bycausse they seke the light; but dyd not walke thereafter: and had no delyte therin, are justly bereyved of the same and like to be throwen into palpable darkness wyth Pharao and the Egyptians, and that (as it doth appeyre, accordyng both to ther deserts and desyre. For God can not alwaye souffre dissemblers to set forth hys name neither wyll he, that hys wyll shuld, of the unwyllyng, be sayed to be mayntened. And therefore, by takyng awaye the libertie of hys worde he myndeth now to trye the true from the false, and shede out the gootes from the shepe: whych is almost alredye come to pass. But it ys not lyke to ende thus: for seynce that God dyd so plentifullie send hys gospell and word unto us, gevyng us thereto hys sacramentes so purely ministered; and yet the receyvors notwithstanding, for the most part, lyke unto the people that ys spoken of by the prophet Ezechiel: what should be looked for, but that God indede wyll laye hys hevye hand upon us; and that not perhaps so much corporallie, as by takyng away from us the spirituall

foode of our soules, whych ys the ministerie of hys worde. The lord be merciful unto us: and yet I can not saye, to take hys plagues utterlye from us, (for that I thynke were not good for us) but rather to give us of hys grace and spirite to bear his angre, bycausse we have synned against him so soore. For if we shuld have still as we have hitherto had, we wold be as we have hitherto been, if we were not worse. Whereuppon that lesson, whych in pleintie and bryghtnes we wold not lerne, it shall be tryed how we wyll lerne it in scarcetie and darkness: and bycausse we wold not serve God the right and true waye, we shall prove how we can beare and away wyth the false, and suffre idolatre before our eyes.

But your lordishippe must pardon me, for I have forgotten myself, that I am about to write to hym that is in prison; whych knoweth and fealeth metelye well hereof alredye. For sure I am, the punishments of God upon thys hys church, wyth your owne synnes and infirmitees, besides other crosses and trialls, have somethyng broken your hart wyth ernest sorow and repentance: so that you have more nede of Goddes promyses yn the gospell to comfort you, then (as I go about) to encrease your dolor and sorrowe, wyth puttyng you in mynd of such evells and miseries. And yet perchaunce even thys kynde ys unto you pleasure, as it was unto Jeremye, when he desired rivers full of teares, and a cotage in a corner, to bewayle the synnes and sorowes of hys people: and as he, in hys hoole book of lamentations, doth nothyng but lament and cry out for the desolation of hys people and citizens. In the whych yff he had a delyte, doyng of it for the materiall citie and temple, that they were made desolate; how much more must teares and wepynge yssew from such, as now beholde the suddein ruine and destruction of our Church of England? Wherein who doth not see a most miserable change. For lyght, darkness; for truth, falsehed; for Godds worde, mans inventions; for spiritual worshypping, corporal idolatrye; for godlye laws to maynteyne the truth, contempt

thereof; wyth more that I wyll leave to your owne meditations and prayers.

And thys waye to bewayle the private and common miseries of our dayes, as yt hath with yt a present delectation; so also ys yt the onlye and sure waye to atteyne to the comfort whych the promysses of Christ yn the gospell doo bringe. Even as Christ doth tell us, when he sayeth, *Come unto me all you that labor and are looden, and I wyll refreshe you;* and in an other place also, *happie are thei which mourne, for thei shall fynde comfort.* Accordyng hereunto, the prophet and good kyng David affyrmeth lykewyse, that *such as sowe in teares shall reape in joye.* Whereof your lordshippe in thys grett shyne of Godds gospell have often both hard and redde, yea and by experience practised it also; but yet never so swetelye (I dare well saye) as now, syns thys crosse hath been layde upon you. For now you be in Godds propre scholehouse, wher as you have not so many to trouble you, as when you went wandering in the wyde wold, that ys so full of the devill's scales. Now you have tyme to talke unto God in your often and most serious prayers; tyme also to give eare unto hym, talkyng and speakyng unto you out of hys worde. So that yow tast of that in dede now, of wych before you dyd but (as it were) here tell of. And that you fynd verifyed upon yourself, that the good scholer of the Lord, David, spekyth of hymself, in the long psalme of hys owne experiences, saying, *It is good for me, O Lord, that I have been in trouble, that I myght lerne thyne ordinances:* as though he shuld have sayed; before I came into affliction, I hadd so many lettes and hynderaunces, that I could not entende unto that wych thou (O Lord) dydst putt to me to lerne: but now, by these crosses, I am taught to avoyde suche inpediments, and to withstande such affections as drawe me from the markyng and kepyng of thye lawes and commandement.

And now therefore, I beseech you, (my good lord,) waye wyth yourself, what a good master our heavenlye father ys unto

you, that alone he doth make you so good a scholer, that you can find yn your hart, in comparison of hym and hys worde, to despyse all things els: as favor and fayre worde of men, honor both present, and hereafter to folowe, riches and pleasure, lands and possessions, parents and frends, wyf and children, and what shall I speke of more except it be lyf itself? Thus is the Lorde working in you, to make you to thynke with Moses, to be in the affliction and danger that the children of God bee in, rather than to enjoye all the riches of the Egiptians. But such an one ys Godd, and so ys he mynded, to wynne you with kyndnes for ever, to bynd you unto hym in bonds of hys mercye, that never shall be unloosed agayne. Give honor therefore unto hym alone, wych hath alredye beganne and wyll continue, and make perfytt hys power and myght in your imbecillittee and weaknes. That hys name may be knowen, and hys chyldren confyrmed the boldlyer to stycke unto hym. As I doo not doubt, but that alredye yt ys come to passe in some, and how manye mce shall it be wrought in, wych shall here and perceyve, that you shall with patience and strength persevere to the ende. Be stronge therefore, and stablishe your conscience upon the Lord's worde. For what so ever ys pretended and brought in ageynst you, yet knowe, that to consent and receyve the masse cannot be but horrible, and grevouslye provoke the Lord unto angre. And to persuade you herein, or rather to confirme you in that wych alredye yow are out of doubt of, I wyll not make much a doo. For doo but conferre thys masse of mans makyng wyth the supper of Christ's institution and see what sembleablenes ys betwene them; and yow shall perseyve them as lyke one to the other, both in substance and outward appearance, as an honeste matrone ys lyke to the devill, deckt in an hoores atteyryng. And yet have they noon other cloke or defense, save onlye to saye, that it is in the Lord's supper: but a man with half an eye maye judge thys matter easelye ynough. Howbeit, though we shuld graunt (wych Godd forbydd) the masse, wyth the appurtenances to be

tollerable, yet wych way can they bring it in to the congregation of idiotes and symple? Unto whome all that in ther masse ys spoken ys in a straunge language. Whereas St. Paull commandeth noon to speke with tongues, onlesse he be interpreted. Wher as also *Amen* must be answered to the thanks gevyng, not as to a man's Q in a playe, but by one that preyeth, whereunto he maketh hys answer. *Turn away your eyes*, therfor, from the vanitie of their customes and conceiles, of ther tradicions and good ententes, of ther doctors and divines; of ther fathers and fansyes, of scholemen and sophysters: for thes ar for the doctors and byshoppes to beate ther braynes about. You and thei also, when thei have doon what they can, must be judged and quieted by Godds worde and scripture, or els it ys but violence and tyrannie. And the scripture we have hereof ys playne to hym that meaneth and seketh playnnes, markyng the chief ende whye the supper was ordeyned; to put us in mynd, and so to confirme us in the Lord's death, and the lyvelye and present remembraunce of the same: whereas they goo about nought els but the contrarye; as ther latin service, and taking awaye of Godd's worde, doth most manifestlye declare. Beware of them then; for ther ende ys but darkenes and blyndyng of the people, and to gett mens consciences to hange upon them. But such ys the sawce, that our synfull lyves undre the gospell hath sawced our self, and the hole church of Christ here among us wyth all.

But now what remedie? Noon, but to humble our selfs under the mightie hands of the Lord. And in noo wyse wyth hart or wyth hande, wyth worde or wyth dede, privelye or openlye, to subscribe or consent to the defacyng of Christes kyndome, the pullyng downe of hys worde, nor settyng up of that wych ys disagreyng therto. For we ar hys temple both bodye and soule, and must beleve wyth the hart, and confess also with our mouth, yf we wyll be salved. As St. Paull doth teach.

The Lord of all mercye, comfort, and strength geve your

good Lordishipp, wyth other in the same case, thys faith and boldnes to confesse Christ and hys glorye unto the ende. Amen.

It is remarkable that Strype, who found the above letter in Fox's MSS. and with whose collection he is extremely familiar, should not have noticed the letter No. 19, which is in the Acts and Monuments: and indeed it seems quite as probable that even this letter was written by Bradford as by Lever.

Strype, however, affords us no more information than the above, except that the Earl of Bedford was buried in 1554, of whose funeral he gives a minute account.—*Strype Eccl. Mem.* iii. *pt.* 1. 335. Most of the histories, biographies, and peerages, allege that this nobleman died in 1558, one history alone concurring with Strype that he died in 1554.

The only individuals of this noble family to whom the letters in question could have been written, are either John, Lord Russel, the *first* Earl of Bedford; or Francis, Lord Russel, the *second* Earl of Bedford: and from a comparison of dates and the respective public employments of these two noblemen, in the absence of all documentary evidence, or any tradition in the Russel family, that either of those persons had been imprisoned for religion, it would seem almost certain that they were written to Francis, the second Earl. This idea would be confirmed by the titles of Nos. 19 and 20 both in Fox and Coverdale, which expressly state, that at the time of editing their respective works, the individual in question was *then* Earl of Bedford, whereas John, the first Earl, had been dead long before.

The same idea is further confirmed by the following remark in Bishop Burnett; "Francis, Earl of Bedford, had gone out of England in Queen Mary's time, and stayed some time at Zurich; he had expressed a true zeal for the reformation, and a particular regard for the divines there; of which a letter in the collection gives a clear account: and upon that they wrote often to him,

and pressed him vehemently to take care in the first beginning to have all things settled upon sure and sound foundations.*

The letter referred to by the Bishop was written to Bullinger, and is as follows:

## A LETTER of the EARL of BEDFORD'S to BULLINGER, from VENICE.†

Doctissimo Viro Domino Bullingero, Sacræ Theologiæ Professori eximio Tiguri.

Cum meus in te amor singularis, et perpetua observantia, quâ te semper religionis causâ sum prosecutus, tum tua erga me incredibilis humanitas, multis modis à me perspecta, cûm Tiguri fuerim, (Bullingere Doctissime) fecerunt, ut hasce literas animi erga te, mei pignus certissimum, et veluti tabulas obsignatus mei in te perpetui amoris quas extare volui, huic adolescenti ad te darem. In quibus ita tibi gratias ago, propter tuam humanitatem, ut etiam me tibi relaturum pollicear, si quâ in re tibi unquam gratificari queam. Atque hæc ita à me dicta velim accipias, non sicut homines qui hodie verborum quandam speciem inducunt, et officiosam formam, magis id adeo ut videantur, quàm quod esse velint id quod præ se ferant: sed potius, ut ab animo sincero, et prorsus tibi devinctissimo profecta, certissimum tibi persuadeas. Itaque, si quid tuâ causâ unquam facere possim, (quod quàm exiguum sit non ignoro) illud tamen, quantulumcunque erit tuum erit totum. Sed de hoc satis, et fortasse superque, præsertim etiam cùm adhuc mihi statutum sit, (si alia non intervenerint, quæ inceptum iter aliò evadere possint) ut vos obiter invisam in Angliam reversuro. Ubi id vivâ voce confirmare, quod hic nudis verbis solummodò declarare possum. Juvenis, qui has literas perfert mihi, nunciavit de obitu Conradi

* Hist. Reform. vol. iii. pt. 1. 401. Lond. 1820.

† Ibid. pt. 2. 351.

Pellicani, (quem honoris causâ nomino) quod ut audivi, sanè quam pro eo ac debui, graviter molestèque tuli, non tam suâ, quam ecclesiæ universæ causâ. Is enim hujus vitæ curriculum, in curis, vigiliis, assiduis studiis, literatis hominibus promovendis, gloriosissimè confecit, ac denique moriendo quemadmodum vivebat ad meliorem vitam in cœlum translatus est. At illa multum desiderabit plurimis nominibus, virum absolutissimum: Itaque ut illius causa lætor, ita hujus vicem non possum non magnopere dolere. At hujus mæstitiæ causam tui (ut spero et opto) præsentia facilè mitigabit, quem ecclesiæ, bonisque omnibus, diù incolumem Deus Opt. Max. per suam misericordiam esse velit. Venet. 6. calend. Maias.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,

F. BEDFORD.

Domino Gesnero, et Domino Gualthero, meis amicissimis diligenter à me, quæso, salutem dicito.

From the whole of the above documents the probability rises, almost to a certainty, that Francis, the second Earl, must have been the individual in question; and that probability is further increased by a poem, inserted by Parke in his Heliconia,* on the divine virtues of Francis, Earl of Bedford, from which we extract the following:

His holy zeale he builded on God's word;
In all his pompe the Pope he did defie,
When Mary reign'd, and bishops rul'de the sword,
To cut him short, who all his acts did eye,
A godlye feare his loyall truth did trye;
His service then, and large regard, therefore,
Doth papists teach their princes to adore:
Yet here I showe his service unconstrain'd
I need not showe how hardly he was us'd;
A prisoner with the Lord Riche he remain'd

* Vol. ii.

Till papists had his actions all perus'd,
Which faultless were: but he revenge refus'de;
He layd his wrong not to his countries' charge,
But keaping truth, did shield her with his targe.

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Abroade he did not, as our papists doe,
In practyse joyne their country to confounde;
Although his queene were to God's word a foe,
He ne'er wrought that she should be uncrown'd:
No, no, his faith and honour both were sound,
Who oft' had read, and did regard it weele,
That tyrants were *no warrants to rebell.*

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While fortune smil'd, he did not, like the world,
Bye, build, scratch, crave, and gape ere gain could fall.
Behinde his back these worldly joyes he whirl'd,
He fixt his eyes upon God's church in thrall,
Which he to free, set hand, heart, purse, and all:
His bordes were spred, his gates wyde open stood.

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The idle droane, the forme that only had,
He thought unmeet to take a holy charge;

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This noble lord this groseness did perceive,
That simple men judge by the outward face:
And, therefore, did his benefices give
To such as had both learning, gift, and grace.
*Would God the like were seen in ev'ry place!* *

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* Whetstone, Mirror &c. of Francis Earl of Bedford. Printed in Park's Heliconia, vol. ii. 2d tract: Longman, London, 1815. Whetstone was one of the Jury who acquitted Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, for which offence he was committed to the Tower, April 25, 1554, and discharged the 12th of December following, on payment of a fine of £220.—Fox, iii. 99. 105. 113.

Bohun enumerates Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford, as one of those members of Queen Elizabeth's new council, who had with great difficulty escaped the fury of the Marian persecution. It is remarkable that though this author gives a short character of all the other members of this council, he omits to do so as to this nobleman.*

The improbability too that he could have been the first Earl, is further heightened by the consideration, that that nobleman held office to the day of his death under Queen Mary, evidently died in the Romish faith, and was buried with the rites of that church; and that during that reign he frequently sat in council when the reformers were examined, and appears to have spoken with severity towards them.

Upon having recourse however to a MS.† in Dr. Williams's library, in Red Cross Street, which is frequently referred to as of high authority, we find the following notices of both these noblemen in the same page, and Bradford's letters distinctly ascribed to John the first Earl!

"John Russel, Earle of Bedford, though he found respect from Queen Mary in the beginning of her reigne, and had a new patent for the great office of Lord Privy Seale, bearing date the 3d of November, 1553; and was sent into Spain to attend King Phillip in order to his nuptials with her; yet after discerning he favoured the reformers, and the purity of religion, he was in great danger for it the next year after.—*Fautor Reformat:* for Mr. John Bradford, then a prisoner, and ready to be sacrificed to the flames, taketh notice of this Erle's piety in the profession of religion, and his danger of death thereby, and writeth a *consolitory* letter to him in the close of 1554. Datum, he dateth it in 1555, beginning the year Christmas.—3 Mart. 321. 322. *Oration Parliam.* He said peremptorily, laying his

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* Character of Queen Elizabeth, p. 26.

† M.S. Chronology of eminent Persons, vol. ii. p. 373. (22)

hand upon his sword in Queen Mary's time, that he would never part with abbey lands perficiend:—De obitu. He died at his house in the Strand on the 14th of March, 1554, and was buried at Cheyneys in Buckinghamshire."

"Francis, Earle of Bedford, successor to his father, John, in that honour, in the first of Elizabeth, was one of her privy council, and in the second of that Queen sent ambassador into France, and in the fourth of that Queen sent thither again to condole the death of King Francis the Second; and in the sixth of Elizabeth made Governor of the Town and Castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Sent afterwards by the Queen into Scotland, and France once or oftener."

We have not been able to trace the date or compiler of this M.S., but it certainly is not modern, and as no biographical work which we have seen gives much account of either of these noblemen, and their noble descendant the present Duke of Bedford possesses no trace of the transaction;—which is the more extraordinary, as upon the supposition that it was Earl Francis, it is almost necessary that such a dissention must have existed between the father and son, as would have been likely to have perpetuated a remembrance of the transaction in the family,—it will probably never be ascertained.

It is most likely that Earl Francis was amongst those exiles for religion, of whom Ruchat thus speaks:*

L'An 1555. les persécutions d'Angleterre, de France, et de Flandres, attirérent quantité d'étrangers dans le canton de Berne, mais surtout dans le pays Romand. Ils y furent recueillis par-tout avec beaucoup de charité, particulièrement à Lausanne. C'est pourquoi les seigneurs de Berne écrivirent aux Lausannois, le 15. Mars, pour les louër de leur charité envers leurs frères persécutés, et les exhortérent à continuer.

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* Ruchat's Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, tom. vi. 549.

L'An 1557. vingt-cinq familles Angloises s'établirent à Lausanne. La persécution de la Reine Marie contraignit un très-grand nombre d'Anglois à se retirer dans les pays étrangers. Plusieurs d'entréux se réfugiérent en Suisse, et se dispersérent dans les principales villes, à Zurich, à Berne, à Bâle, à Geneve, à Lausanne, et à Araw. Ils furent reçus par-tout avec beaucoup d'humanité. Les 25. familles, dont je viens de parler, voulurent d'abord s'établir dans le Duché de Cleves pour ne pas trop s'éloigner de leur patrie; mais ils y furent mal reçus par les gens du pays, (qui étoient ardens Luthériens,) à cause de la différence de leurs sentimens, sur la présence du seigneur dans la S. Céne. Ils allérent donc à Berne, et ayant obtenu permission de LL. EE. de s'habituer dans telle partie du canton, qu'ils aimeroient le mieux, ils vinrent à Lausanne, ou ils furent reçus pour habitans perpétuels, moyennant 4 ecus par famille, et sous diverses conditions raisonnables; entr' autres qu'ils se conformeroient à la reformation du pais.

We have in vain searched in all the public offices for any trace of this transaction; but it appears from Fox* that "the Lord Russel was committed to the Sheriffs of London's custody on the 30th of July, 1553—and that on the 20th of August following, the Earl of Bedford, with Lord Rich, attended at Paul's Cross as a guard when Watson preached.† Fox also informs us that there was a general discharge of prisoners on January 18, 1555, but he does not mention whether the Lord Russel was included in the number, but most probably he was.‡

The reader will probably think this note too prolix and discursive; but we can scarcely imagine any occupation more interesting and instructive, especially to the descendants from noble and illustrious ancestors, than to trace the actions of those

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* Vol. iii. 93. † Ibid. 94. ‡ Ibid. 117.

ancestors through the pages of history, and observe how they conducted themselves in the important and arduous stations which they were destined to occupy. How many shoals and quicksands might be avoided, and how many of the storms and tempests of life might be rode out in safety, if such conduct universally prevailed. And in particular how would the tried, the suffering, or the tempted christian, be supported and encouraged in his various conflicts, by the recollection that such and such of his progenitors had fought the same fight of faith,—had been faithful under the same trials,—and had come off more than conquerors through the great captain of their salvation. On the other hand, how painful the reflection must be to be descended from pious ancestors, whose souls are included amongst the one hundred and forty-four thousand, (*Rev.* vii. 4.) but at the same time to feel the conscious conviction of inheriting the name and title only, but not one spark of that religion, which alone can conduct to the same state of blessedness!

We cannot close this note without expressing thanks to his Grace the Duke of Bedford for his kind condescension in aiding our humble inquiries, and for the valuable suggestions of Mr. Wiffen, the librarian of Woburn Abbey, whom his Grace authorized to facilitate our researches.

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NOTE (L.) P. 79.

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UPON this letter Fox has the following notes, and which although of considerable length, the editor thinks it right to subjoin, as the Acts and Monuments will soon become very scarce and are not likely to be reprinted; and because it is of im-

portance to establish beyond controversy, what the faith of the reformers of the Church of England actually was.

"For the certainty of this faith search your hearts. If you have it, praise the Lord; for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally perish; for then happiness were not happiness, if it could be lost. When you fall, the Lord, the Lord will put under you his hand, that you shall not lie still. But if ye feel not this faith, then know that predestination is too high a matter for you to be disputers of, until you have been better scholars in the school-house of repentance and justification; which is the grammar school, wherein we must be conversant and learned; before we go to the university of God's most holy predestination and providence.

As touching the doctrine of election three things must be considered:

First, What God's election is, and what is the cause thereof.

Secondly, How God's election proceedeth in working our salvation.

Thirdly, To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between predestination and election, this difference there is, predestination is as well to the reprobate, as to the elect; election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the reprobate, is called reprobation; in that it respecteth the saved, is called election, and is thus defined.

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befall on all men, either to salvation or damnation.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will, through faith in Christ his son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleased him.

In this definition of election, first goeth before, the mercy and grace of God, as the causes thereof; whereby are excluded all works of the law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith or come after. So was Jacob chosen and Esau refused, before either of them began to work, &c.

Secondly, In that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be free, thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any succession of chair, nor to state and dignity of person, nor to worthiness of blood, &c.; but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpose, as it is written, Spiritus ubi vult spirat, &c. And thus was the outward race and stock of Abraham after the flesh refused, which seemed to have the pre-eminence; and another seed after the spirit raised up to Abraham of the stones, that is, of the gentiles. So was the outward temple of Jerusalem, and the chair of Moses, which seemed to be of price, forsaken, and God's chair advanced in other nations. So was tall Saul refused, and little David accepted; the rich, the proud, the wise of this world rejected, and the word of salvation daily opened to the poor and miserable abjects; the high mountains cast under, and the low vallies exalted, &c.

Thirdly, Where it is added, in his own will, by this falleth down the free will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsels, and strength of nature; according as it is written, *Non est volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei*, &c. that is, it is not in him that willeth, not in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy. So we see how Israel ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles unneth* began to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first hour did labour more, and yet they which came last were rewarded with the first, *Matt.* xx. The working will of the pharisee seemed better, but yet the Lord's will was rather to justify the publican, *Luke* xviii. The elder son had a better will to tarry by his father, and so did

* Hardly, with difficulty.—Words. i. 26.

indeed; and yet the fat calf was given to the younger son that ran away, *Luke* xv. Whereby we have to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God, as it pleaseth him to accept, according as it it is written: Non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt, etc.; that is, which are borne, not of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man; so again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Christ Jesus his son.

And therefore, fourthly, is this clause added in the definition, through faith in Christ his son; which faith in Christ to us-ward, maketh all together. For first, it certifieth us of God's election; as this epistle (No. 26) of Master Bradford doth well express. For whosoever will be certain of his election in God,—let him first begin with his faith in Christ; which if he find in him to stand firm, he may be sure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of God's elect. Secondly, the said faith, and nothing else, is the only condition and means whereupon God's mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all God's promises to salvation do stay, according to the words of St. Paul, If ye abide in the faith.—*Coloss.* i. Thirdly, this faith also is the immediate and next cause of our justification simply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes, do save and justify us upon condition, if we believe in Christ; so this faith only in Christ, and without condition, is the next and immediate cause, which, by God's promise worketh our justification; according as it is written,—Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house.—*Acts* xvi.

And thus much touching the definition of election, with the causes thereof declared, which you see now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the mere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of Adam do taste of his malediction, though they

tasted not his apple; so all they that be born of Christ, which is by faith, take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience themselves, which was in him.—*Rom.* v.

Now, to the second consideration; let us see likewise, how, and in what order, this election of God proceedeth in choosing and electing them which he ordaineth to salvation; which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election; election worketh vocation or God's holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ; faith through promise obtaineth justification; justification through hope waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time; vocation and faith come in time; justification and glorification are without end.

Election, depending upon God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures.

Vocation, standing upon God's election, excludeth all man's wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man, by God's promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

Justification, coming freely by faith, standeth sure by promise, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification, pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy prevent.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the word, whereby cometh faith.

Faith justifieth.

Justification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cause of vocation.

Vocation, which is the working of God's Spirit by the Word, is the immediate and next cause of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of justification.

And this order and connection of causes is diligently to be observed, because of the papists, who have miserably confounded and inverted this doctrine, thus teaching, that Almighty God, so far forth as he foreseeth man's merits before to come, so doth he dispense his election. *Dominus prout cujusque merita fore prævidet, ita dispensat electionis gratiam.* And again, *nullis precedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere ;* that is, that the Lord recompenseth the grace of election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the same to the merits which follow after ; as though we had our election by our holiness that followeth after, and not rather have our holiness by God's election going before.

But we, following the Scripture, say otherwise, that the only cause of God's election, is his own free mercy ; and the only cause of our justification is our faith in Christ, and nothing else. As for example ; first concerning election, if the question be asked, why was Abraham chosen, and not Nachor ? Why was Jacob chosen and not Esau ? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened ? Why David accepted, and Saul refused ? Why few be chosen, and the most forsaken ? It cannot be answered otherwise but thus ; *because it was so the good will of God.*

In like manner touching vocation and also faith, if the question be asked, why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew ? Why to the poor, to the babes, and little ones of this world, of whom Christ speaketh, I thank thee father, who hast hid this from the wise, &c.—*Matt.* xi. Why to the unwise, the simple abjects, and outcasts in this world ? of whom speaketh St. Paul,—1 *Cor.* i. Ye see your calling brethren, how not many of you, &c. Why

to the sinners, and not to the just? Why the beggars by the high ways, were called, and the bidden guests excluded? We can go to no other cause, but to God's purpose and election, and say with Christ our Saviour: Yea, father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight,—*Luke* x.

And so for justification likewise, if the question be asked why the Publican was justified, and not the Pharisee?—*Luke* xviii. Why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the inviter?—*Luke* xi. Why harlots and publicans go before the scribes and pharisees in the kingdom?—*Matt.* xxi. Why the son of the free woman was received, and the bond woman's son, being his elder, rejected?—*Gen.* xxi. Why Israel, which so long sought for righteousness, found it not; and the Gentiles, which sought not for it, found it?—*Rom.* ix. We have no other cause hereof to render, but to say with St. Paul, because they sought for it by works of the law, and not by faith; which faith, as it cometh not by man's will, as the papist falsely pretendeth, but only by the election and free gift of God; so it only is the immediate cause whereunto the promise of our salvation is annexed, according as we read; And therefore of faith is the inheritance given, as after grace, that the promise might stand sure to every seed.—*Rom.* iv. Item, in the same chapter, faith, believing in him which justifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteousness.

And thus concerning the causes of our salvation, ye see how faith in Christ, only and immediately, without any condition, doth justify us; being so linked with God's mercy and election, that wheresoever election goeth before, there faith in Christ must needs follow after. And again, whosoever believeth in Christ Jesus, through the vocation of God, he must needs be partaker of God's election.

Whereupon resulteth now the third note or consideration; which is, to consider whether a man in this life may be certain of his election. To answer to which question, this first is to be

understood; that although our election and vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, a priori; yet notwithstanding it may be known to every particular faithful man, a posteriori, that is, by means, which means are faith in Christ Jesus crucified. For so much as by faith in Christ a man is justified, and thereby made the child of salvation; reason must needs lead the same to be then the child of election, chosen of God unto everlasting life. For how can a man be saved, but by consequence it followeth, that he must also be elected?

And therefore of election it is truly said; we must judge of election by that which cometh after, that is, by our faith and belief in Christ; which faith, although in time it followeth after election, yet this is the proper and immediate cause assigned by the scripture, which not only justifieth us, but also certifieth us of this election of God.

Whereunto likewise well agreeth this present letter of Master Bradford, wherein he saith; election, albeit in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore beginning first, saith he, with creation, I come from thence to redemption and justification by faith, and so to election. Not that faith is the cause efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof; but is to us the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Christ. For albeit that election first be certain in the knowledge of God; yet in our knowledge, faith only that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

Wherefore, whosoever desireth to be assured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to Heaven to know; but let him descend into himself, and there search his faith in Christ the Son of God; which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of God's Holy Spirit accordingly; thereupon let him stay, and so wrap himself wholly, both body and soul, under God's general promise, and incumber his head with

no further speculations; knowing this, that whosoever believeth in him, shall not perish—*John* iii. shall not be confounded—*Rom.* ix. shall not see death—*John* viii. shall not enter into judgment—*John* v. shall have everlasting life—*John* iii. vii. shall be saved—*Matt.* xxviii. *Acts* xvi. shall have remission of all his sins—*Acts* x. shall be justified—*Rom.* iii. *Gal.* ii. shall have floods flowing out of him of water of life—*John* vii. shall never die—*John* xi. shall be raised in the last day—*John* vi. shall find rest to his soul, and shall be refreshed—*Matt.* xi.

Now then, forasmuch as we see faith to be the ground, whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our justifying, let us discuss in like manner what is this faith, whereof the scripture so much speaketh, for the more plain understanding of the simple. For many kinds there be of faith; as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth save, neither doth the believing of every truth justify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a just God, that he is omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promise, believeth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he also is one of the same elect and predestinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well; but yet this belief alone, except it be seasoned with another thing, will not serve to salvation; as it availed not the old Jews, which so thought of themselves, and yet think to this day, to be only God's elect people.

Only the faith which availeth to salvation is that, whose object is the body and passion of Jesus Christ crucified: so that in the act of justifying, these two, faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together; faith as the action which apprehendeth, Christ as the object which is apprehended.

For neither doth the passion of Christ save without faith, neither doth faith help, except it be in Christ; as we see the

body of man sustained by bread and drink, not except the same be received and conveyed into the stomach; and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing sustain man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like sort it is with faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing save, but only faith in the blood of Christ; neither again doth the same blood of Christ profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the sun being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light; so the passion of Christ is the efficient cause of salvation; but faith is the condition, whereby the said passion is to us effectual.

And that is the cause why we say with the scripture, that faith only justifieth us; not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Christ, &c. all which be external causes, working our salvation through faith. But when we say that faith only justifieth us, the meaning thereof is this; that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God; there is none other that contenteth and pleaseth God, or standeth before his judgment, or can help any thing to the justifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

For although the action of praying, fasting, alms, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God, be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all these actions in man imputed of God to salvation; but only this one action of faith in man, upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action itself of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth so deserve, but because it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of justifying faith, as it is an action of man, is not to be considered alone, but must ever go with his object, and taketh his virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites, did not of itself procure any

health unto them, but the promise made in the object, which was the brazen serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their looking up. Even so, after like sort, are we saved by our faith and spiritual looking up to the body of Christ crucified; which faith to define is this.

To believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of the living God, sent into this world, by his death to satisfy for our sins, and so to receive the same.

And thus much touching election and faith, with the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our salvation, whereby may appear, how far the pretended Catholics, do swerve from the right mind of the scriptures. For where the scriptures in declaring the causes of salvation, do send us only to faith, as the only condition whereby these causes have their working; these catholics do quite leave out faith, and instead thereof place in other conditions of doings, merits, will-works, pardons, masses, and especially auricular confessions, with penance and satisfaction for our sins, &c.

With reference to these doctrines, our own minds have often been impressed with a peculiar view of them, which we have never seen expressed by any writer till very lately. "Nevertheless, I wish we had a better word than necessity, which is commonly made use of in this dispute, for it conveys to the understanding an idea of restraint, which is totally contrary to the act of choosing."—LUTHER *apud Milner's Ch. Hist.* v. 280—*Edit.* 1810. Upon which Mr. John Scott, reasoning upon the Common Places of Melancthon, remarks as follows. "For my own part, I confess, I choose to suspend my judgment upon points so far 'too high' for us; where much, that *seems* to be established by incontrovertible reasoning, and countenanced by scriptural authority, *appears* also to us, with our limited powers, to be incapable of being reconciled with what is alike the dictate of nature and common sense, and the clear doctrine of divine revelation. But as for those who revolt, with contempt

and indignation, at the mention of any such necessity as stated above, it may be worth while to learn a lesson of humility, by trying to disentangle themselves from the obnoxious doctrine, as following, at one, simple, unavoidable step, from the divine *prescience* alone, independently of any *predestination.* Thus, after all that can be said, it can never be disproved, that what is certainly foreseen must certainly come to pass: but future events are so foreseen by Almighty God—as both prophecy and the direct testimony of scripture demonstrate: therefore they are certain, or, in the sense explained, *necessary.* I say again, I state not this as my own unhesitating conclusion, I only here throw it out as an exercise for those, who imagine their own scheme free from such difficulties." *Continuation of Milner*, ii. 197, *Nota.*

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NOTE (M.) P. 92.

In the letters from 21 to 28 inclusive, we have brought together the principal observations of this holy martyr upon the subject of predestination, the doctrines of free will, election, &c. to which we have subjoined the opinion of the venerable martyrologist, Fox, and that for the purpose of shewing, what the real views of the English reformers were upon these important questions. And we feel it necessary here to notice some remarks of Dr. Wordsworth, where he seems to have travelled out of his way, in order to cast a slur upon the memory of Bradford.

In a note upon the Life of Bishop Ridley,* Dr. W. quoting a passage from one of the Bishop's letters, observes, "It is not unlikely that Ridley offered this remark to Bradford's consideration, by way of moderating his zeal respecting some disputes on free will and predestination, which had arisen among the

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* Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. 361.

Protestant prisoners, in consequence of Cole, Harry Hart, and a few other obscure individuals, having imbibed and propagated Pelagian notions. Ridley could not sympathise with Bradford's warmth on this subject *(not because he did not think Bradford's sentiments, upon the whole right and true, and Cole's, &c. wrong and false,)* but from thinking Bradford overrated the *importance* of the controversy, and the *influence* of his adversaries, by which coldness, it is plain that Bradford was a little piqued."

And in another note upon the same life* Dr. V. adds, " His (Ridley's) words to Bradford, in reference to the predestinarian controversy, cannot be too often inculcated, and deserve to be written in letters of gold; and then quotes in small capitals, the words we have inserted in a corresponding type, in the first letter subjoined, and remarking, It is greatly to be lamented, that the notes which he (Ridley) had drawn up on this subject were not printed."

Coverdale gives eight letters from Ridley to Bradford, of which Dr. W. has published only four—but taking the whole together, it seems evident that nothing but the most cordial sympathy and approbation existed between them. The following are two of those omitted by Dr. W. and the remaining two we shall most likely have occasion to insert in the sequel.

## TO MASTER BRADFORD.†

Dearly beloved brother, blessed be God our Heavenly Father, for his manifold and innumerable mercies towards us, and blessed might he be that hath spared us thus long together, that each one of us may bless his mercy and clemency in other unto this day, above the expectation and hope of any worldly appearance.

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* Vol. iii. 372. † Cov. 63.

Whereas you write of the outrageous rule, that satan our ghostly enemy beareth abroad in the world; whereby he stirreth and raiseth so pestilent and heinous heresies, as some to deny the blessed Trinity, some the divinity of our Saviour Christ, some the divinity of the Holy Ghost, some the baptism of infants, some original sin, and to be infected with the errors of the Pelagians, and to rebaptise those that have been baptised with Christ's baptism already; alas, Sir, this doth declare this time and these days to be wicked indeed. But what can we look for else of satan here and of his ministers, but to do the worst that they can, so far forth as God shall or will suffer them.

And now methinks he is less to be marvelled at at this time, if he bestir him by all manner of means, that the truth indeed do take no place. For he seeth now, blessed be God, that some go about in deed and in truth, not trifling, but with the loss of all that they are able to lose in this world, goods, lands, name, fame, and life also; to set forth God's word and his truth, and by God's grace shall do, and abide in the same unto the end; now therefore it is time to bestir him I trow.

And as for the diversity of errors, what careth he though one be never so contrary to another? He reckoneth all, and so he may, to be his, whosoever prevail, so that truth prevail not. Nevertheless, good brother, I suppose that the universal plague is most dangerous which at this day is, alas, fostered and masterfully holden up by wit, worldly policy, multitude of people, power, and all worldly means. As for other the Devil's galtroppes, that he casteth in our ways by some of his busy headed yonkers, I trust they shall never be able to do the multitude so great harm. For, blessed be God, these heresies before time when satan by his servants hath been about to broach them, have by God's servants already been so sharply and truly confounded, that the multitude was never infected with them; or else where they have been infected, they are healed again, that now the peril is not so great.

And where you say that if your request had been heard, things, you think, had been in better case than they be ;* know you that concerning the matter you mean, I have in Latin drawn out the places of the scriptures, and upon the same have noted what I can for the time. SIR, IN THOSE MATTERS I AM SO FEARFUL, THAT I DARE NOT SPEAK FARTHER, YEA ALMOST NONE OTHERWISE THAN THE VERY TEXT DOTH, AS IT WERE, LEAD ME BY THE HAND.†

And where you exhort us to help, &c.; O Lord what is else in this world that we now should list to do? I bless my Lord God I never, as methinketh, had more nor better leisure to be occupied with my pen in such things as I can do to set forth, when they may come to light, God's glory. And I bless my Lord God through Jesus Christ, my heart and my work are therein occupied, not so fully and perfectly as I would, but yet so as I bless God for the same.

Farewell, dear brother, the messenger tarrieth and I may not now be longer with you. The Lord, I trust verily, shall bring us thither, where we shall, each one with other in Christ our Saviour, rejoice and be merry everlastingly.

Your Brother in Christ,

N. R.

## TO MASTER BRADFORD.‡

Gratiam et pacem, &c.—Although I ween it is not yet three days ago, since you heard from me, yet having such a messenger and so diversely enforced, I cannot but say something to you.

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* P. 70.

† He meaneth here the matter of God's election, whereof he afterwards wrote a godly and comfortable treatise, remaining yet in the hands of some, and hereafter shall come to light, if God so will. Cov. 65.

‡ Cov. 69.

What? shall I thank you for your *golden token?* What mean you man? Do you not know that we have *victum et amictum e penario regio?* I was so moved with *your token** that I commanded it straightway to be had to Bocardo which is our common jail. I am right glad of Austin's† return, for I was, as I told you, careful for him. Blessed be God that all is well. I have seen what he brought from you, and shortly surveyed the whole, but in such celerity, that other also might see the same before Austin's return; so that I noted nothing but a confused sum of the matter, and as yet what the rest have done, I can tell nothing at all, and it was at the writing hereof in their hands. To your request, and Austin's earnest demand of the same, I have answered him‡ in a brief letter, and yet he hath replied again; but he must go without any further answer of me for this time. I have told Austin, that I for my part, as I can and may for my tardity and dulness, will think of the matter. We are so now ordered and straitly watched, that scarcely our servants dare do any thing for us; so much talk and so many tales, as is said, are told of us abroad. One of us cannot easily nor shortly be of knowledge of another's mind, and you know I am youngest many ways. Austin's persuasions may do more with me in that I may do conveniently in this matter, *armed with your earnest and zealous letters*,§ than any rhetorick either of Tully or Demosthenes, I insure you thereof.

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* This token was a piece of gold, which Bradford had sent to Ridley, but which the latter sent to relieve his brother Shipside, prisoner in Bocardo.—Cov. 69.

† Augustine Bernher.

‡ He meaneth here Harry Hart, a froward free-will man, who had written a treatise against God's free election, which Bradford sent to M. Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer to peruse, desiring M. Ridley to answer the same. Cov. 70.

§ How must the shades of these excellent men, who thus honoured and preferred each other to himself, look down with astonishment and

With us it is said, that M. Grymbold* was adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; of whom we hear now, that he is at liberty. So we heard of late, that M. Hooper was hanged, drawn, and quartered indeed, not for heresy but for treason, but blessed be God, we hear now that all is true in like. False tongues will not cease to lie, and mischievous hearts to imagine the worst. Farewell in Christ, and token for token now I send you not; but know this, that, as it is told me, I have *two scarlet gowns* that escaped, I cannot tell how, in the spoil, whereof *you shall have your part.* Commend me to all our brethren, and your fellow prisoners in the Lord.

Your's in Christ,

N. R.

The venerable martyrologist has also recorded another circumstance, which shews that Ridley neither claimed nor possessed that superiority, in respect of prudence and discretion, over Bradford; which Dr. Wordsworth takes so much pains to establish—'Master Ridley, late Bishop of London, being prisoner in the Tower, had there given him the liberty of the same, *to prove belike whether he would go to Mass or no,* WHICH ONCE HE DID. And Master Bradford, being there prisoner also the same time,† and hearing thereof, taketh his

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disgust upon the puny biographer, who, 200 years after they both have been in glory, thus exerts himself to exalt the character and notions of either, at the expense of his venerated brother?

* He was chaplain to Ridley.—Strype's Cran. 492. but secretly recanted, and acted as a spy on the imprisoned professors of the gospel.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. i. 229. Fox iii. 136. 139.

† The Tower being so full, our Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford were all thrust together into one chamber, which, however inconvenient it were, yet they were very glad to be together; that they might have the opportunity of conferring with one another, and establishing one another together. There they read over the New Testament together with great deliberation and study; on purpose to

pen and ink, and writeth to him an effectual letter to persuade him from the same, and sheweth the occasion that thereby should ensue, which, God be honoured, *did M. Ridley no little good;* for *he repented his fact therein,* as he himself maketh mention, writing again in the latter end of the book of Marcus Antonius, which he sent to M. Bradford, and *never after that* polluted himself with that filthy dress of anti-christian service.'—*Fox,* iii. 997.*

Notwithstanding all this Ridley was a giant, for there were giants in those days, and we may imagine nothing could more excite the indignation of the spirit of that holy martyr, if in their blessed abodes they could be susceptible of such feelings, than to see his pigmy successors attempt to put a tinsel crown upon his head, at the expense of his brother martyr, and beloved friend for the gospel sake.

As to Ridley himself, every true Protestant claims an equal interest in his character and credit, whether episcopalian or non episcopalian; and divested of that narrow sectarianism which almost invariably characterises the genuine hierarchist, looks up to him with admiration and gratitude--willingly and gladly there-

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see if there were any thing that might favour that popish doctrine of a corporeal presence. But, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual one, nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that holy book that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good; and that God did require none other, nor that it should be ever done again; as Latimer, one of the four, related in protestation given to Watson.—Strype's Cranmer, vol. i. 463.

* Dr. Wordsworth, iii. 322, and Mr. Todd in his Life of Cranmer, vol. ii. 381, do not give credit to this statement—but for no other reason than that Fox, *as they allege*, relates *precisely the same particulars* respecting Bradford and Bishop Ferrar.—But that is not so, for the two anecdotes, as related by the martyrologist, are essentially distinct in the two important particulars of *time* and *circumstances*.—Acts and Mon. vol. iii. 280. 997. Besides which Fox refers to a document in which Ridley had expressly acknowledged the fact.

fore we add the following.—'Master Ridley, was a man so reverenced for his learning and knowledge in the scripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have been an excellent clerk, whose life, if it might have been redeemed with the sum of 10,000 marks, yea, £1000, the Lord Dacre of the North, being his kinsman, would have given it to Queen Mary, rather than he should have been burned. And yet was she so unmerciful, for all his gentleness in King Edward's days, that it would not be granted for any suit that could be made. Oh, that she had remembered his labour for her to King Edward VI. with Cranmer, before mentioned,* in such sort that even she had yielded but the reward of a publican—*Matt.* v. then had the earth not so been bereft of him as it was; let the Lord forgive us our sins which were the cause thereof, and *grant that we never so provoke his anger again, if it be his blessed will—Amen.' Fox* iii. 996.—*Which Amen we most heartily repeat!*

As Dr. W. admits that Bishop Ridley thought Bradford's sentiments, upon the whole, were *right* and *true*, and the opposite opinions *wrong* and *false;* we do not easily discover the materiality of discussing which of them attached most importance to the controversy in question. Assuming that Ridley thought it of less importance than Bradford, it does not follow that the former was right; and the time might come when Ridley, in the same manner as he had seen reason to prefer Hooper's opinion to his own, in the matter of the habits, might also see reason to prefer Bradford's opinion to his own, in respect of the importance of the doctrine in question.

That Ridley actually did so seems very probable; for from the last of these letters *(very remarkably omitted by Dr. W.)* it appears that he had himself written to Hart; and

* Fox ii. 788—iii. 16.

from Coverdale's note upon the former of these letters, it is evident that it was in compliance with Bradford's earnest remonstrance to take up the subject, he wrote the very notes or treatise which Dr. W. wishes so much were extant. This looks vastly more like *yielding* to the opinions of Bradford, than having the intention to *censure* or *restrain* him. And how far, in point of fact, Bradford was in the right, has since become but too evident, from the state into which the clergy of the Church of England fell soon afterwards, and continued for the most part till the middle of the last century. Dr. W. and many others are very fond of clothing themselves with the mantles of Cranmer, Ridley, and their brethren—but how is it they can honestly do so, whilst admitting that the reformers believed in the doctrines of predestination, election, &c. they themselves not only fail in preaching the same doctrines, but seldom let slip an opportunity of treating them with ridicule and contempt. Alas, alas, how many bishops have we had since the period at which these men fell, who have been worthy to wear their mantles! Upon this subject see Bishop Tomline's Refutation of Calvinism, triumphantly refuted by the late Rev. Thos. Scott, of Aston Sandford; by the late Rev. Dr. Williams, of Rotherham; and more pointedly still by Mr. John Allen, of Madras House, Hackney, in the Layman's Letter. *London*, 1812, *Gale and Curtis*. See also the trimming and cautious spirit but too frequently evinced upon this subject, by some who ought to know and act better, exposed in Hæresis Mastix, *London*, 1824; in which a certain Reverend Dean, received a tolerably severe castigation from one of his own brethren, respecting the case of Dr. Malan at Geneva.

With whatever caution Ridley might express himself upon this subject, and we agree perfectly that no man can adhere too closely to scriptural expressions, when treating of this or any other christian doctrine; it does not seem probable that any material difference existed between them, for Coverdale,

who evidently approved of the sentiments of Bradford, as appears by his notes on No. 27, and which was most probably the very paper which Bradford mentions in No. 28 to have sent to Ridley—describes Ridley's works in terms of no less approbation, viz: as a godly and comfortable treatise, p. 65.—and as a learned and godly treatise, p. 359—so that whilst we cordially agree with Dr. W. that it is greatly to be lamented that the notes which Ridley had drawn up on this subject were not printed—yet it is pretty evident what his opinions were, and what the result will be if they should ever be discovered.

It is notorious that the catechism of Edward VI. was the production of Cranmer, Ridley, and others, in which amongst other matters is the following. "*As many as are in this faith steadfast, were forechosen, predestinated, and appointed to everlasting life, before the world was made*—Now as to this catechism Ridley thus expresses himself—"I hear say that the catechism which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned—*Oh devilish malice!* Satan could not longer suffer, that so great light should be spread abroad in the world."—*Layman's Letter, p.* 90.* And in the next reign we have the following declaration from that great ornament and light of the English Church, Bishop Jewell. "But as touching the freedom of will and power of ourselves, we say with St. Augustin, O evil is free-will without God---man misusing his free will, spilt both himself, and his will; what do men so much presume of the possi-

* The same author, p. 89. shews also, that Archbishop Cranmer offered to justify these doctrines in this very Catechism, as indeed well he might; and yet Mr. Todd strives hard to deliver this holy primate from the hydra of Calvinism.—Vol. ii. 61. 300. It is truly melancholy to see how prejudice and a desire to support a system, can warp the judgment and extinguish a spirit of candour. How useful and highly important a work might Mr. Todd have made his Life of Cranmer, at this period, if he could have divested himself of a sectarian spirit.

bility of nature? It is wounded, it is mangled, it is troubled, it is lost. It behoveth us rather truly to confess it, than falsely to defend it. Free will, once made thrall, availeth now nothing but to sin—that we live well, that we understand right, we have it of God. Of ourselves we have nothing, but only sin, that is within us. The better to clear this whole case, I thought it good to use the more words. Thus may we learn to know ourselves, and humbly to confess our imperfection, and to give the whole glory to God."—*Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, p.* 15.

In confirmation of the views of Bradford the signatures of Bishop Ferrar, Taylor, and Philpot, to No. 28, expressly testify their approbation as well to the doctrine as to the importance of enforcing it, and although we would not positively assert of these doctrines, what Luther did of that of justification by faith alone, that they are the criteria vel stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ, we may venture to pronounce that just in that proportion in which they are preached and felt, does a professing church maintain its vital godliness and influential activity.

The learned and accurate Strype views the conduct of Bradford in a very different light from Dr. W. In remarking upon No. 28, he says, "They, the freewillers, were men of strict and holy lives, but very hot in their opinions, and disputatious, and unquiet. Divers of them were in the King's Bench, where Bradford, and many other gospellers were; many whereof by their conferences, they gained to their own persuasion. Bradford had much discourse with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart; who had writ something in defence of his doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers also among them; Kemp, Gybson, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagians did, and *valued no learning;* and the writings and authority of the learned, they utterly rejected and despised. Bradford was apprehensive that they might do great harm in the church, and therefore out of

prison wrote a letter to Cranmer, &c. (No. 28) and with him joined Bishop Ferrar, Taylor, and Philpot, (as we have seen.) He speaks of this letter as worthy to be read, and then remarks, 'Upon *this occasion* Ridley wrote a treatise of God's election and predestination, and Bradford wrote another upon the same subject; and sent it to those three fathers in Oxford, for their approbation; and *theirs being obtained*, the rest of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to sign it also."—*Strype's Cranmer*, i. 502. The same author, after quoting some passages from that writer, says, "By Bradford's pains and diligence he gained some from their errors; and particularly one Skelthorp; for whom in a letter to Careless,* he thanked God, who gave this man to see the truth at the length, and to give place to it; hoping that he would be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance might thereby think themselves gone astray.'—*Strype's Cranmer*, *vol.* i. 503. This writer, who evidently had access to many MS. treasures relating to the Marian æra, seems never to have dreamed that Ridley thought Bradford wrong, in endeavouring to root out the springing heresy; or that it was probable any difference would be found between the two treatises of these venerable coadjutors, in the great work of the reformation. And that any coldness or pique on the one hand, or disposition to censure on the other, existed between these truly christian martyrs, is completely repudiated by the general contents and expressions of the last of the above letters of Ridley, as well as by the two others omitted by Dr. W. which we shall most likely have occasion to insert in the sequel.

Every pious protestant claims the holy martyrs Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Bradford, and the rest as their common property. If Cranmer himself were now to revisit his native country, and make a progress throughout our various

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* Cov. 373.

religious communities, what may it be supposed would his principal inquiry be? My friend do you wear the habits, the square cap, or the surplice? Do you kneel at the altar? &c. &c. No, surely, but would it not rather be—Are you a believer in the Lord Jesus Christ? Is he to you the chief among ten thousand and the altogether lovely? Have you embraced him as your only saviour and friend? and are you united to him by a lively faith? Are you one of the living stones fitly framed together, and built up unto him as your chief head? And who would these holy men acknowledge as their brethren and kindred in Christ Jesus—those only who had subscribed to the act of uniformity, and were zealous defenders of the national hierarchy, although peradventure wholly destitute of the life and spirit of godliness; or the humble and sincere followers of the lamb, in whatever communion they might be found?

It was well said by the late Dr. Buchanan, to some remark about the different societies who had sent out missionaries to the East, that a foreign mission was the best possible school to cure bigotry—for that placed in the middle of a moral wilderness, and surrounded by the prowling beasts of prey, of pagan and popish idolatry, and mahomedan imposture; they were glad enough to hail any pious missionary as a friend and a brother, without stopping to enquire whether he belonged to this church or to that chapel—whether he worshipped with or without a liturgy—or whether he wore a gown or surplice, or preached and prayed without either!

Never will the death blow be given to popery, infidelity, and formalism in this country, till the truly pious of all the orthodox denominations consent to wave their minor differences—to abstain from absurd, ridiculous, and sectarian recrimination—*chiefly founded in ignorance**—and cordially embrace each

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* Few readers perhaps will credit the writer when he asserts, that not many years since, a distinguished and very amiable prelate now living, so

other as friends of their common saviour and redeemer; travelling together to those eternal abodes of blessedness, where all such unscriptural differences will be done away for ever.

A conviction of the importance of this subject, induced the editor some years since, to establish a society for that express object, under the name of THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE—and the same conviction leads him to hope, that the republication of the address, delivered at the formation of that society, at the end of this volume, will be excused.

" And I purposely mention his *moderation*, and likewise adventure to commend him for it; notwithstanding that this VIRTUE, so much esteemed and magnified by wise men in all ages, hath of late been declaimed against with so much zeal and fierceness, and yet with that good grace and confidence, as if it were not only no VIRTUE, but even the sum and abridgement of all VICES. I say, notwithstanding all this, I am still of the old opinion that *moderation* is a VIRTUE, and one of the peculiar ornaments and advantages of the excellent constitution of our church; and *must at last be the temper of her members*, especially the clergy, if ever we seriously intend the firm establishment of this church, and do not *industriously design* by cherishing heats and divisions among ourselves, *to let in popery at these breaches.*"—*Abp. Tillotson's preface to Bp. Wilkins's Sermons. London*, 1682.

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NOTE (N.) P. 99.

HOOPER, Ferrar, Taylor, Philpot, and Bradford consulted amongst themselves whether they should go to dispute at Oxford,

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far allowed his prejudices against dissenters to mislead his judgment, as to apply, in the editor's hearing, the chapter in Grotius de Veritate, entitled " De indifferentismo"—which every tyro knows relates only to indifference to religion and divine things in general, to a latitudinarian feeling on the subject of *church government!*

and resolved to decline it, unless they might have indifferent judges. And for this purpose Bradford sent a private and trusty messenger to Oxford, to Ridley, to have his, and his two fellows, their judgment concerning this matter. They were at this time all separated from one another; so though Ridley signified this in a letter to Cranmer, yet he could only give his own sense.—*Strype's Cranmer, vol.* 1. 489.—*See Note* (O).

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NOTE (o.) P. 101.

FAR be it from us to attempt to drepreciate the merit or worth of that distinguished luminary of the English Reformation, Bishop Ridley, whose mantle we would rather lament has fallen upon so few of his successors; but justice to the memory of Bradford, and to the task we have undertaken, imposes upon us the duty of shewing, that Dr. Wordsworth has no grounds for endeavouring to draw a parallel between them, to the prejudice of the latter.

We have seen Bradford frequently* enjoining absolute obedience to Queen Mary; and it appears clear that he took no part in the rebellion in favour of Lady Jane Gray, and here he expressly applauds Sir James Hales for refusing to subscribe King Edward's will, made for the deprivation of his sister Mary.

From the document in Burnet,† it appears that Ridley did not subscribe that will, but perhaps the only reason was, because he was not a privy counsellor; for immediately after Lady Jane had been proclaimed Queen, we find him in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, declaring there his mind to the people, as touching the Lady Mary, and dissuading them, alleging there the incommodities and incon-

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* PP. 38. 96. 99.

† Hist. Refor. vol. vi. p. 275.

veniencies which might rise by receiving her to be their Queen; prophesying, as it were before, that which after came to pass, that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them; besides the subverting also of the christian religion then already established; shewing moreover that the same Mary being in his diocese; he, according to his duty, being then her ordinary, had travailed much with her to reduce her to this religion; and notwithstanding in all other points of civility, she shewed herself gentle and tractable; yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she shewed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that, which with so great labours, had been confirmed and planted by her brother afore.—Shortly after this sermon Queen Mary was proclaimed; whereupon Ridley speedily repairing to Fremingham to salute her, had such cold welcome there, that being despoiled of all his dignity, he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.'—*Fox* iii. 16.

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NOTE (P.) P. 104.

Sir James Hales was one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; and, on the accession of Mary, had refused to join in the proceedings for raising Lady Jane Gray to the throne. But having afterwards, in his judicial character, asserted that it was unlawful to celebrate the mass, the queen not having as yet reinstated it, he was had up before Gardiner, who behaved to him most infamously, and finally committed him to prison. Whilst there he was wrought upon by the artifices of the papists, and in consequence, became so wretched in his mind that he attempted to cut his throat, but was prevented by his own servant. The letter, No. 30, was written to him whilst in Bread

Street Compter; but whether before or after this rash attempt is not very clear—probably afterwards, and it is melancholy to reflect how little good effect it produced; for the papists inferring they had made sure of him, set him at liberty; soon after which he drowned himself in very shallow water upon his own estate at Tenterden, in Kent. Gardiner, and the papists generally, charged this act of suicide upon the tendency of the doctrines of grace, or the new religion as it was called, to desperation; to repel which, and to shew that they proceeded from remorse and the tings of a wounded conscience at allowing himself to be seduced by the papists, Bishop Hooper published a treatise which has been preserved by Strype.—*Eccl. Mem.* iii. *pt.* 1. 274. *pt.*2. 258. *No.* xxiv.—*Words.* iii. 206.—*Burnet*, ii. 1. 386.—*Soames,* iv. 132.—*Fox,* iii. 19. 96. 185.—who also has some useful observations upon the subject. The whole of which indeed, with Hooper's treatise, we should have inserted, but from the fear of extending these notes to too great a length, as we have yet some heavy matter to come which is still more scarce, and much too curious to be omitted.

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NOTE (Q.) P. 109.

THIS Lady Vane was a special nurse and great supporter, to her power, of the godly saints, who were imprisoned in Queen Mary's time; to whom divers letters of Philpot, Careless, Traherne, Rose, and others, as well as Bradford, were written; wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness towards them, with their singular commendation and testimony; also of her christian zeal towards God's afflicted prisoners, and to the verity of his gospel. She died in Oldbourne, in the year 1568, whose end was more like a sleep than any death; so quietly and meekly she deceased and departed

hence in the Lord.—*Fox*, iii. 331. She seems to have been the widow of Sir Ralph Vane, who was beheaded with the Duke of Somerset, in the year 1552.—*Strype Eccl. Mem.* iii. 226.

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NOTE (R.) P. 161.

THE extract which Fox gives* of this very scarce and extraordinary tract of Gardiner's, with its no less extraordinary preface by Bonner, had often excited in our minds a great desire to see the originals; and that desire was considerably increased by the frequent appeal to it by almost all the reformers† upon their examinations; and the evident chagrin and mortification discovered by Gardiner, whenever it was alluded to. And perhaps the reader, who will now have the opportunity of perusing both these performances, will not be so much surprised, that the papists should have exerted themselves to suppress and destroy them and their consequent scarcity,‡ as they will that apologists of real learning and professed liberality, should be found in the 19th century for men, who after publishing such opinions as the tract and preface in question contain, could practise so much cruelty and insolence towards their fellow creatures, for professing and retaining the same opinions.

All exertions to discover a copy of this tract or preface were fruitless, till having obtained a copy of a collection of

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* Acts and Mon. ii. 338.

† Taylor, Fox iii. 169. Saunders, Fox iii. 134. Mr. Todd well remarks, "The books exposed his fellow tyrant and himself to just ridicule and censure. The first reformed preachers that were brought before him, scrupled not to remind him of that which, in the time of Henry VIII., both he and Bonner had there taught with such consummate impudence."—Life of Cranmer ii. 418.

‡ Todd's Defence of Cranmer, li.

curious tracts, relating to the popish controversy, almost equally scarce,* we were agreeably surprised to find both of them included.† That a translation existed we never imagined, till on searching, at the British Museum, for any scarce matters relating to the History of the Reformation, we discovered such a translation, in the Royal Library, by M. Wood; and the title page distinctly says ROME.‡ Now, that such a work should be printed at Rome, in the year 1553, appears sufficiently improbable; and we therefore suspect that both the translator's name, and the place of publication were fictitious, a practice by no means unfrequent.§

We give the title page of the original Latin, and of Wood's translation—and that translation at length.—

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* Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum, by Orthuinus Gratius, published at Cologne, in 1535, and republished at London by the Rev. Edward Brown, Rector of Sundridge, in Kent, 1690.

† In the second volume, or appendix, pp. 800—820. As these volumes are very scarce, and contain some extremely curious tracts, we shall insert, at the end of this appendix, a list of the contents; and which those, who are engaged in the controversy with the papists, may find it convenient to consult.

‡ Mr. Todd (Defence of Cranmer, li. Life of Cranmer, vol. i. 324.) says that this translation was printed at Rouen. Whereas Professor Bliss, in his new edition of Wood's Athen. Oxon. (vol. i. pp. 295. 371.) alleges there were two editions; one at Roan. in 1553, and the other at Rom. 1553; that the translator was Michael Wood, a printer; and that both editions are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

§ Thus the Jesuit's Catechism, by the famous Etienne Pasquier, professes to be published "A Ville Franche."—1602.

STEPHANI GARDINERI, EPISCOPI WINTON,

# DE VERA OBEDIENTIA ORATIO;

UNÀ CUM PRÆFATIONE EDMUNDI BONNERI,

Archdiac. Leicestr.

(POSTEA VERÒ EPISC. LONDINENSIS PINQUISSIMI ET SANGUINOLENTI)

Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis *Angliæ* in *Dania* Legati,

CAPITA NOTABILIORA DICTÆ ORATIONIS COMPLECTENTE.

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In qua etiam ostenditur Causam Controversiæ quæ inter ipsam Sereniss. Reg. Maj. et Episcopum *Romanum* existit, longè aliter ac diversiùs se habere quam hactenus à vulgo putatum sit.

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JUXTA EDITIONEM *HAMBURGENSEM*, EX OFFICINA *FRANCISCI RHODI*, MENSE *JANUAR.* MDXXXVI.

# DE VERA OBEDIENTIA;

An Oration made in Latine,

*BY THE RIGHT REVERENDE FATHER IN GOD,*

STEPHAN BISHOP OF WICHESTRE,

NOW

LORDE CHAUNCELOUR OF ENGLANDE:

With the Preface of Edmonde Bonner,

THAN ARCHIDEACON OF LEICESTRE, AND THE KINGES MAIESTIES EMBASSADOUR IN DENMARKE, AND NOW BISHOP OF LONDON:

*TOUCHING TRUE OBEDIENCE.*

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PRINTED AT HAMBURGH, IN LATINE, IN OFFICINA FRANCISCI RHODI, MENSE JANUARIS, 1536.

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AND NOW TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISHE, AND PRINTED EFTSONES, IN ROME, BEFORE THE CASTLE OF S. ANGEL, AT THE SIGNE OF S. PETER, IN NOVEMBRE, ANNO DO. MDLIII.

# TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.*

I HAVE heretofore, with no small admiration, read a certain sermon, made in English, before our late Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII., about fourteen years past, by Doctor Tonstal, then Bishop of Durham, and set forth in print, belike for his own glory or rather purgation, being suspected, and not without cause, to be a favourer of the pretended authority and antichristian power of the Bishop of Rome; whereof he is bent at this day, with other his accomplices, to shew himself, that sermon notwithstanding, not only to be a friendly favourer, but an open diligent proctor. And a certain oration also written in Latin, by Doctor Samson, then Bishop of Chichester, and now the double-faced epicureous Bite-sheep of Coventry and Lichfield; as well for the proof and assertion of the King's supremacy, by the undoubted truth of God's unfailing word, as of the just abrogation of the said Bishop of Rome's feigned power out of England.

By which sermon and oration, I being indifferently instructed in the truth for those days, in some points, cannot choose but marvel somewhat, at this their so sudden alteration of mind and proceedings, presently seen to all men's understanding. Howbeit forasmuch as Tonstal, hath been long reputed a still dreaming Saturn, always imagining mischief; and Samson an idle-bellied carnal epicure, which for worldly honour and paltry pelf's sake, hath ever holden with the hare and ran with the hounds, as they

* So Anthony Wood, vol. i. 371. Bliss; but Mr. Todd calls it his "Admonition." Life of Cranmer, vol. i. 324.

say; and if he were bidden, would say, Christ was an hangman, and his Father a thief; I counted not much upon them, nor thought that their sermon and oration proceeded of any persuasion of conscience, but to serve the time, as the common practice of that foxy generation is.

But now of late I chanced to read an excellent, and a right notable oration, entitled *De Vera Obedientia*, made in Latin about twenty years past, by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, then Bishop of Winchester, now Lord Chancellor and common cut throat of England; touching as well the King's supremacy and absolute power (under God) of the Church of England, and the necessary divorce (as he calleth it) of the said King Henry VIII., from the Queen's Mother that now is; together with the lawful and chaste marriage (for so he termeth the matter) had between the said King and Queen Anne, to consist by the unfailing almighty word of God. As also concerning the false feigned authority and usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, and unlawful or unadvised oaths and vows; joined with the preface of doughty Doctor Bonner, then Archdeacon of Leicester, gaping to be a Bishop, as he is now (by the way of usurpation) of London, for the commendation and praise of the same oration.

And forasmuch as Winchester confesseth in the same, his long advised deliberation, before he was persuaded (by the truth) of the King's supremacy: and seeing he was the chief procurer and labourer, at that time, of the King's said divorce and second marriage: and now even he, with his blow-belly butcherly brother Bonner, turning like weathercocks exsye versie as the wind bloweth, do not go about traiterously to repell the just and right supreme power and authority, incident by God's own word and law, to the imperial crown of England; abusing and bewitching the Queen's grace's lenity, and scrupulous perplexity, but also (like seditious and most antichristian angels of satan) to set up their father, antichrist of Rome, in this realm again; I have thought it good to turn the same oration and

preface into our vulgar tongue, that every true English subject may plainly behold, by these men's fruits, what they themselves are; dissemblers with princes, to whom they owe their bounden allegiance; deceivers of God's people, the Queen's subjects, for whom Christ hath shed his precious blood; subverters of good laws; confounders of order; murderers of men's souls; enemies of their native country; shameless liars; bringers in of idolatry and a superstitious false forged religion; traitors to the crown of England; impudent maintainers of filthy whoredom; blasphemous haters of chaste marriage; covetous catchers; double-faced piurours; defacers of the nobility; cut throats of the commonalty; suppressors of Christ's flock; ravening wolves in sheep's clothing; mockers of Christ's glorious gospel; servers of time; and very imps of antichrist.

Now to give the certain notes, to behold that stout champion Winchester's double perjury and traitorous villainy, the better by; thou shalt mark in reading this oration, that he affirmed, at those days, that the Bishop of Rome's authority in England was against God's word; and now he juggleth to bring it in again.

Then he said, the King was the supreme head of the Church of England, next under Christ; now he goeth about to impeach the crown of that supremacy. Then he avouched, that the King might not put away the supremacy from him, because it is given him of God; now his policy is, to deceive the Queen's Highness thereof, as though it were not given of God.

Then he affirmed that all true subjects were debt bounden to defend, maintain, and uphold the supreme authority of the crown; now he would have all English subjects to be forsworn to the crown, and help in his Father of Rome again. Then he said, that men's traditions were, for the most part, repugnant to God's word; now he preferreth such false popish traditions, garnishing them with the name of the church, as though folks

were bounden to credit and obey them, as much or more than the Bible. Then he prated, that only in the Scriptures was the truth to be sought for; now the Scriptures must be cast out of the doors, as though they were the chief teachers of untruth. Then he confessed that the true light was hidden, as long as the Bishop of Rome had to do here; now he and his fellow shavelings say, and caused Dudley, the wicked duke, to declare by his learning and conscience, that the truth hath not been opened, and that England hath been divided from the catholic faith and church, since that power was abolished.

Then he affirmed, that the marriage of King Henry the Eighth, with the Queen's Mother, was unlawful, and therefore justly divorced, as of no effect; now he saith that the same marriage was lawful by God's word. Then he affirmed, that the marriage of the said King, with Queen Anne, was a chaste and a lawful marriage by God's word; now his deeds declare his judgment to be contrary. Then he confessed that the said divorce and second marriage, were done by the undoubted word of God, the censures of the most famous universities of the world, the judgment of the Church of England, and by Act of Parliament, whereof he himself was the procurer in the universities, and in all points a principal doer; now he layeth all the fault to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as though it had been the Archbishop's only deed. Then he wrote advisedly of a conscience, and to be highly regarded with the King; now he is not ashamed to say nay and recant, to please and rule the Queen. Then he broke the Queen's head, in procuring and affirming her to be illegitimate; now he giveth her a plaster, with his recanting and saying she is legitimate.

Then he took him leisure, before he would be persuaded; now he runneth post haste in a contrary dissuasion. From that time hitherto, he confesseth he hath done wrong in these cases, scilicet, that he hath been a traitor above these twenty

years, and now he would be taken for a true man, repenting scarce twenty days, and that more for fear and ambitious flattery, than for truth or conscience.

These tricks, and many such like, thou mayest easily espy in this oration and preface, good reader, whereby thou mayest beware of these incarnate devils, who could so advisedly say yea then, and so impudently, so rashly, so perjuredly, and so slyly, recant and say nay now. Wherefore, if these be the fruits of holiness, truth, and constancy (as it cannot be denied) and the special practices of these worthy pillars of the malignant Madame, the Babylonical Holy Mother Church; what may we trust to or look for, in their litter of Romish whelps? If gay Gardiner, blow-belly Bonner, untrusty Tonstal, and slow-bellied Samson, be no more nimble in covering their practices; blame not drunken Doctor Weston (for all his burned breech) nor impudent Feckenham, with the rest of the saucy swarm of shavelings, though their shameless lying, careless perjury, and blasphemous iniquity, appear openly to all the world. Therefore, like as a man may know, by their present blasphemous proceedings, what traitorous hearts, they have covertly borne all this while, to King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth heretofore, so may the Queen's Grace, and all men beware, how they credit or leave their conscience to them hereafter.

If these ruffling kabies, in their sermons and orations said and wrote the truth then, why do they not abide by it and say the same still? If they erred then, why may not they and their scholars err now? If their works and writings were false then, for all their advised deliberation; why may not their sayings and doings be as false now, using post haste, and all through ambition? If the fathers were false subtle shrews then, how may we trust the children now? Yea, Sir, ye make much ado with then and now, be content. Then was then, and now is now; down with your bastard, and milk the cow.

Well answered, for it is not out of memory, since drunken

burnt-tail Weston, was at the cost, in his sermons and lessons, upon hope of preferment to the divinity lecture in Oxford, to publish and affirm, sola fides justificat; so that great malice and contention arose between him and goggle-eyed Smyth, with Doctor Cotes, about it in open reading and preaching: but now his mastership is content to lose his plaint, and both *sola* and *fides* may go play them. Yet how fain Smyth was at length to recant his error, and to embrace and preach *sola fides justificat;* his solemn printed recantation is yet to see.

The same true doctrine was confirmed also by Dr. Oglethorp, Ramriche, Draicot, Pole, Burnet, and almost by all the rabble of them, that now have quite banished both *solam* and *fidem.* It is not long since Doctor Chadsey subscribed to the marriage of priests, and against transubstantiation; with a great sort more, who cry out now, come again to your mother church and repent, you sacramentaries and votaries; as though it were never they. As for Doctor Inkpot, (that blinking coxcomb Standish) who saith he married against his conscience, it is the less launder, seeing he is more fit to make a riding foal of, than a proctor of the convocation.

Tonstal in his written sermon, chafeth and fumeth against Reginald Pole, reviling him and calling him the king's arch-traitor; but now I trust, he shall be welcome home, my Lord Cardinal, with blessing godfather. As for Cardinal Pole, by report Tonstal and Gardiner, neither the best of them, is not worthy to wipe his shoes, neither for learning, judgment, nor sobriety of life. But what should you speak of our two-faced Janus Children? Be not so hasty, Sir. *Tempora mutantur, mores deteriorantur. Et qui veritate dicit, caput fractum habebit.* These be wise men, and love to sleep in a whole skin, though they, both body and soul, go all to the devil. They are so valiant soldiers, that these six years they have given place, and came in league with the poor gospellers, almost all the pack of them; like gnats, with ait, aio, negat, nego.

And now when they have espied wickedness to have the upper hand, they can kill the man, when he is knocked down to their hands. Indeed the Holy Ghost revealed somewhat, of these hell-hounds' hollow traiterous hearts to King Henry the Eighth, when he left Winchester in no trust in his testament, nor allowed him to be of counsel with his son, the virtuous King Edward. And could the Queen's Highness provide her never a godly noble, or worthy man in all England, to be chancellor, but him; that in his open disputation and writing, hath made her a bastard, her virtuous mother an adulteress, and her most royal father an adulterer? And now, in public proceedings, hath made her most christian brother, and all his court of parliament, as well nobles as commons, no better than heretics.

O filthy traitor, and pernicious papist, the very poison of England this day. Of a lean, lazy, and lecherous locust of the bottomless pit, thou art become an outrageous lion; and now thou roarest and ragest, as it were great Cerberus of hell. If God be not merciful and cease his plague over the land, thou art like to be an utter destruction thereunto. Who hath seen such stoutness in a beggar's brat, as is now in thee? Well, when her Grace shall perceive that God hath troubled her mind, and scourged her realm enough with such double-faced, perjured, and impudent traitors as this her chattering chancellor is, she may chance at length to confess, that she hath made too much of a scabbed cuckoo's bird. Is there none other way to get God's favour but by snatching away God's Word, the Bread of Life, from God's people? Is there none other means to have a chaste England, but to suppress chaste marriage, and to advance licentious whoremongers in England? Was the matter well amended when Doctor Cox was turned out, and whisking Weston thrust in; who, in carnal occupying, burnt a woman beggar, in his own parish, without Bishop's Gate, the whole parish to witness. It was sometime an use at the stews in Winchester Rents, that the

most filthy whores there did burn their occupiers: but now have the hot holy prelates, of the Bishop of Rome's Clergy in England; such as this Weston is, religiously taken it up, and are become in that act more cunning than the whores were. These hungry whore-hunters spare neither pie-wench nor beggar by the way, but with their fiery soldering tools, they seal them to the surgeon's hands.

O, abominable hypocrites, for their wilful contempt of christian marriage, God suffereth them to fall into most shameful abuses. What face are we like to have within a while, of our English Church, if such beastly Sodomites be thus advanced to the chief deaneries of the realm, and thus ruffle it in their scarlets? A great sort of the Queen's true hearted subjects in England, think it were more meet for wanton Weston, to be put out for a stallion among a race of mares upon the mountains, or to serve the stews, than to be allowed free access, with smirking, and pretty simpering chit-chat, among honest ladies; and more meet to be coupled with his old packhorse, Goodwife Hagfall in Oxford, at the tail of a cart, than to be reputed and reverenced, as a maiden priest, in good Queen Mary's court. The God of all mercies, open the eye of her heart, to see these fine men's fruits in time, lest all England smart for it.

Were it not better to have God's most Holy Word published, to all Englishmen's understanding and comfort, and his blessed Sacraments ministered as he instituted them; than to have a popping popish priest, to patter he neither woteth what nor the people that hear him; and to worship a little pretty white-coated casket, instead of God, made by miracle? O, Sir, what is it that these holy hell-hounds cannot do by miracle? It is a more easy miracle for them to say, that the form of bread is very natural flesh, and wine blood; than to set fire indeed under a woman's coat, without coal or candle. Well, I beseech that for Christ's precious death's sake, good reader, not to think that I have pleasure in railing or in carping other men's faults; but

that I would not have the soul deceived, with these filthy hypocrites: and so I pray thee, repenting from the bottom of thy heart, consider that this sudden lamentable alteration of religion and states, cometh of the most just judgment of God, for our impenitence and unthankfulness' sake, and for our sinful abusing of God's most holy word and sacraments, to our own horrible lusts and worldly respects; so that where we would not hear and do after the doctrines of God's servants, the prophets, who warned us of these plagues, it is found true by experience that the Holy Ghost saith; For the sins of the people, God maketh hypocrites (as these poll-shorn shavelings be) to reign and bear the sway,

As for the nobility, they may remember and know by experience, what this text (he hath put down the mighty from their seat) meaneth; if they will advisedly behold the order of God's judgment in them, because they made a mock and a taunt at the preachers in Lent last, whose words we find now most true. Beforetime, the nobles say, they were fools to be in awe of one man, the Duke of Northumberland; now, whether they be fools or wise men, they are in as much awe or more to one beast, Winchester. He was a gentleman, as very a tyrannous traitor as he was; this is, after the old proverb, *Passus sub pontio as cutted as an ape, if the father be a knave, how can the son escape?* He hath been a worthy soldier, and a notable captain; this hath been a famisher of the King's soldiers, and always a very coward. He used the nobility after the form of noblemen; this frumpeth them, as if they were his slaves. He repressed the rebels in Norfolk; this stirreth by his deeds, rebellion throughout England. He deserved thanks for that service doing; this, all England may curse unto the world's end. He sought to take the crown traiterously from the Queen; this seeketh to pull away the authority of the crown, from the Queen and her heirs for ever.

In his days men were so covetous that they took some; in this beast's days they are so free-hearted, that they take all. He died like a beast as he lived before; this, except he repent, cannot choose but go after. Now *mundus gaudebit*, we shall have a merry world, the matter is amended, the devil and all.

Marvel not, good reader, that God hath in this sudden chop, taken away the liberty of his most pure plain word, and the right administration of his blessed sacraments, from the people of England; seeing our impenitence and hardness of hearts, and given them to another nation (Scotland) that will bring forth the fruits of repentance. Seeing we will needs be swine, God would no longer bestow his preachers upon us, but give us leave to be fed with the draff of masing masses, mumming matins, drowsy diriges, pick-purse purgatory, popes' pardons, Latin service, beads, bells, and bagpipes; praying to dead saints, licking of relics, Lent shrift, benedicite godfather, absolution behind the curtain, oil and cream, with other superstitious baggage, the devil and all; until, with unfeigned penitent hearts, we say with the unthrifty son of the gospel, *Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, now I am not worthy to be called thy son, make me like one of thy hired Servants.* Unto the which hearty repentance, if we will join unfeigned faith, pouring out our continual earnest prayers, before the throne of the heavenly grace, by Jesus Christ, we shall find mercy in time convenient; and though he scourge us with these uncircumcised soldiers of satan for a time; yet, as David saith, When he is angry, he will remember mercy, and restore his blessed gospel to us again with abundance of blessing, in case we will, like obedient children, take his chastising in good part, and patiently abide his leisure.

Now, to the intent thou mayest plainly behold and judge rightly, of these honey-mouthed false feigning flatterers, and

ancient enemies of Christ's religion, the better and more readily; note Winchester and Bonner with an indifferent heart, in their proceedings and doings at this day, and mark their sayings in this oration following, and preface made at that time; and thou shalt soon see their sleighty shifts of, yea Sir, nay Sir, not as of truth, but as time serveth. And if it like you to confer more of these practitioners, buy Tonstal's English Sermon, and Samson's Latin Oration.* Then if thy heart be not endurately locked, and cast up from discerning the truth, thou wilt thrust them up all four together in a Tunbridge sheath, and bless you henceforth from their double-faced viperous generation. The Lord give thee understanding in all things, good reader, and in the fear and love of God, to live constantly in true obedience, patiently abiding his merciful godly will, and always in him heartily well to fare.

* The following is the title of Samson's work referred to by the translator.—"Richardi Samsonis, Regii Sacelli decani, Oratio, qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes, potissimum Anglos, regiæ dignitati cum primis ut obediant, quia verbum Dei præcipit, Episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo Jure Divino, in eos quicquam potestatem habet, postquam ita jubet Rex, ut illi non obediant. Qui contra fecerint, eos perspicuè docet, legem divinam contemnere. Non est ergo quod sibi timeant Angli, de humana quavis potestate Episcopi Rom. qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est humano consensu, in Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo, non homini.—Fascicul. vol. ii. 820.

# EDMUND BONNER,

## Archdeacon of Leicester,

*THE KING OF ENGLAND HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR IN DENMARK,*

**TO THE SINCERE AND GENTLE-HEARTED, AND GODLY READER.**

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FORASMUCH as there be some, doubtless, even at this present, as it hath always been the wont of men's judgments to be variable and divers, who think the controversy, that is between the King of England and of France, his most royal Majesty, and the Bishop of Rome, consisteth in this point, because the King's said Majesty hath taken the most excellent, and most noble LADY ANNE, to his wife; whereas, in very deed notwithstanding, the matter is far otherwise, and nothing so. Wherefore, to the intent, all that truly and heartily favour the Gospel of Christ, which that most godly and virtuous prince doth with all diligent endeavour, in every place advance, to the honour of Almighty God, and to the profit and commodity of all christian people; and that hate not, but love the truth, which every where justly claimeth the upper hand, and to her all things, though they struggle with her never so much in the beginning, yet obey and give place at length, as meet it is they should, may the more fully understand the chief point of that controversy; and because they shall not be ignorant, what the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned bishops, with all the nobles and commoners of England is, not only in that cause of matrimony, but also in the defending of the gospel's doctrine;

this oration of the Bishop of Winchester, a man excellently learned in all kinds of learning, entitled DE VERA OBEDIENTIA, that is, concerning true obedience, which he made lately in England, shall be published; but as touching this bishop's worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becometh me here to make rehearsal.

And as for the oration itself, which as it is most learned, so is it most elegant, to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth itself enough, and since good wine needeth no tavern bush, to utter* it. But yet in this oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle reader, thou shalt, beside other matters, see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance and how invincible the power and excellency of God's truth is; which as it may now and then be pressed of enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed after such sort, but it cometh again at length behind the screen, more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also, touching obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of men's traditions, which, for the most part, are utterly repugnant against the truth of God's law. And there, by the way, he speaketh of the King's said Highness's marriage, which, by the wise judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and therewith the consent of the whole Church of England, he contracted with the most clear† and most noble LADY, QUEEN ANNE.

After that, touching the King's Majesty's title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the Church of England.

Lastly of all, of the false pretended supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, in the Realm of England, most justly abrogated; and how all other bishops, being fellow like to him in their function,

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* To sell or vend.—Bailey. † Famous, clarissima.

yea, and in some points, above him within their own provinces, were beforetime bound to him by their oath. But be thou most surely persuaded of this, good reader, that the Bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but this marriage, will easily content himself, especially when there is one morsel or other laid to him to stosshe. But when he seeth so mighty a king, being a right virtuous and a great learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the Gospel of Christ, and perceiveth the yearly ravenous prey; yea, so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the King's revenues, snapped out of his hands, and that he could no longer exercise his tyranny in the King's Majesty's realm, alas! it hath been too cruel and bitter all this while!* nor make laws, as he hath done many to the contumely and reproach of the majesty of God; which is evident that he hath done in times past, under the title of the Catholic Church, and the authority of the Apostles Peter and Paul; whereas, notwithstanding, he was a very ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself servant of servants, to the great damage of the christian commonwealth: a man may say, there began the mischief; thereof arose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great troublous bustling.

For if it were not thus, no man could believe that this Jupiter of Olympus, who hath falsely taken upon him power, wherein is more brag than hurt, would have done his best, that this good, and godly, and gospel-like prince should be falsely betrayed to all the rest of monarchs and princes. Neither let it move thee, gentle reader, that the Bishop of Winchester did not afore now apply to this opinion; for he himself, in this oration, sheweth the cause, why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is, for a man to suspend his judgment, and not to be rash in giving of sentence.

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* Olim heu nimium truculentam et acerbam.

It is an old said saw; Mary Magdalen profited us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt. A man may rightly call him Fabius, that, with his advised taking of leisure, restored the matter.—Albeit I speak not this, as though Winchester had not bolted out this case secretly with himself beforehand, for he bolted it even to the brann long ago out of doubt; but that running fair and softly, he would first, with his painful study, pluck the matter out of the dark, although of itself it was sound enough, but by reason of sundry opinions, it was lapped up and made dark; and then did he debate it wittily to and fro, and so at last, after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, he would resolutely, with his learned and consummate judgment, confirm it. Thou shouldest, gentle reader, esteem his censure and authority to be of the more weighty credit, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly, and at all adventures, but with judgment, as thou seest, and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the Bishop of Rome, seeing that not only this man, but many men many times, yea and right great learned men, afore now, have done the same, even in writings, wherein they both painted him out in his colours, and made his sleights, falsehood, frauds, and deceitful wiles, openly known in the world.* Therefore, if thou at any time heretofore hast doubted either of true obedience, or of the King's Majesty's marriage, or title; either else of the Bishop of Rome's false pretended supremacy, as if thou hast a good smelling nose, and a sound judgment, I think thou didst not; yet having read over this oration, which,

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* This is quite true—it has pleased the providence of God, that there never should be a period in which there was not some witness, for his truth against the growing corruptions of popery.—See them best collected in Petrie's Hist. of the Deform. and Reform. of the Catholic Church. vol. i. 527. 555.—Hague, MDCLXII.

if thou favour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and his devilish fraudulent falsehood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee; throw down thine error, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length, considering with thyself, that it is better late to do so, than never to repent. Fare thou heartily well, most gentle reader, and not only love this most valiant King of England and of France, who undoubtedly was, by the providence of God, born to defend the Gospel, but also honour and serve him most obediently.

As for this Winchester, who was long ago without doubt reputed amongst the greatest learned men, give him thy good word with honourable commendations.*

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* Truly said of a double-faced traitor.—Transl.

# AN ORATION,

## Made in Latin,

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

## STEPHEN, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

*Now Lord Chancellor of England,*

TOUCHING TRUE OBEDIENCE, AND NOW TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, &c.

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As I considered and secretly weighed with myself, the present state of orders in the church of England, wherein when I saw that very many things, which, whether it were long of men or of times, have been of long season confusedly jumbled together; some things blemished, and some things decayed, and almost turned quite upside down; were by the perfect line and plummet of God's Word, called again, laid anew, and restored unto the ancient foundations of God's work: anon came into my mind, even with a certain reverent admiration, the invincible power and excellency of God's unfailing truth; which, albeit it seemeth now and then, unto man's persuasion, to sustain by sore and long enduring overthrows,* yet it remaineth ever whole, constant and certain. And though it be darkened with men's sleighty jugglings, and counterfeit crafts, as it were with certain mists for a while, yet at the time of God appointed, it bursteth out again and sheweth itself clearly, like

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* Ruinas per graves ac diuturnas perpessa videatur.

the sun, when darkness is banished and chased away; that God may be found just in his sayings, and have the victory when he is judged.

And I doubt not, but many both learned, grave, and right good men were in the self-same, or not much unlike thought that I was in; and where they have been entangled with a certain foolish and cankered vile superstition, and have wrestled against the truth, of a long time, this advised consideration hath pulled away all their scrupulous doubts, and by the working of God's grace, hath conveyed and brought them into the light of the true verity.

And to confess plainly of myself, where I was a very earnest setter forth and defender of the law and of the letter, as I may so say, and where I could do nothing with a worse will nor more against my mind, than to shrink from any thing that I had been before persuaded in, whatsoever it were; the further that my judgment swerved from the truth in that behalf, so much the more vehemently and eagerly methought I was astonished, when I knew the truth: even as a man's eyes being dulled with darkness, are wont to be amazed at sudden brightness, when the light breaketh out. For I had not the gift that Paul undoubtedly had, who, as soon as God had overthrown him, fell down, and spoke the words of obedience, saying, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? For that chosen vessel had so much plenty of the grace of God, that he confessed by and by, it was the voice of God that checked him, and called him from his error, and so committed himself wholly to the governance of God, and obeyed him in all truth and did after him in all points without any more ado. But as for me, albeit my judgment hath been always, that the truth ought to be obeyed, which doubtless doth come altogether of God, yet in the discussing and trial of the truth, I did not so easily content myself. But I so framed myself, that, as it had been in asking the judgment of all my senses, unless I perceived that I first of all heard them with my

ears, smelled them at my nose, saw them with eyes, and felt them with my hands, I thought I had not seen enough; to the intent I might submit and captivate the wit of my understanding to the truth, as though I had thoroughly perceived and known it.

This my leisure taking, which some perchance reckon for a too much obstinate rebelling, my mind is not to ascribe unto my own wisdom or gravity, lest any man would think I were fain, as they say, to praise myself, for lack of good neighbours: but I do most constantly affirm and impute it, as right is, unto the sundry working of God, in setting forth the truth, of whom all men when they are taught, which be taught indeed, according to this saying; And ye shall be all taught of God; as every one shall feel himself affected in assenting unto the truth, so may he talk and make plain mention. But as for the causes, why this man embraceth the knowledge of the truth, when God offereth it, more speedily; that man more slowly, and another man never in all his life; it is neither given to men always to perceive, nor permitted to search out, further than is expressed in the Scriptures.

So that my intent is not, presently to render the cause of my slackness, or to claim that advised leisure taking, as a proper inward gift of my own: which were not only a token of foolishness with men, but also a very wickedness towards God: but I would rather yield account to the world, what it was that changed my opinion so much, and what caused me now at length to dissent from myself, and from my own former words and deeds.

And indeed, to tell you at a word, that compelled me, which compels all men, when God seeth his time; even the mighty power of the truth, whereunto all things at length obey and do thereafter.

Now I desire and heartily pray thee, gentle and sensible reader, to bear friendly with me, in speaking of true obedience, and

such things, as for thy sake, the rules either of rhetoric or logic, require of a writer; that is, that I should, at the beginning, give the occasion either to be lovingly bent, or fit to be instructed, or else to be attentive, when as yet I have nothing done, yet give them to me again, as if thou hadst received them, and forgive me them, as though thou wert perfectly paid of them indeed.

For seeing I perceive that I have obeyed truth, in acknowledging the truth, I cannot choose but set forth something openly, touching true obedience; and though I am not able to speak of it, according to the worthiness of the thing, yet mine endeavour shall be to speak of it openly, and open it plainly.

And to come speedily to my purpose: I think, that to obey truly, is nothing else, but to obey unto the truth.

And God is the truth, as Scripture recordeth, wherein he giveth his chief light unto us; so much, that whosoever seeketh it in any other place, and goeth about to fetch it out of men's puddles and quagmires, and not out of the most pure and clear fountain itself; they draw and bring up now and then, I wot not what, foul and miry gear, ineffectual and to no purpose, for the quenching of men's thirsty desires, which pertaineth altogether properly unto the truth itself. For it is only he that giveth us the wholesome water of the truth, whereof he that drinketh, in obeying the faith which Jesus Christ hath published, he shall also bring forth the fruit of true obedience, so that he shall never be thirsty.

For albeit God in the old law, when he had determined in slain sacrifices and offerings, to shadow and signify his own sincere and pure service and honour, which the true worshippers should do now in spirit and truth; and for that cause gave strait commandment, that those sacrifices and oblations should be had in high honour and devotion, to shew how much more dearly he esteemed obedience; he hath manifestly declared in many places of the Scriptures, that he setteth more by obedience than by all oblations and sacrifices. For so speaketh Samuel out of

the spirit of God, unto Saul; Would the Lord have offerings and sacrifices, saith he, and not rather that the Lord's word should be obeyed? Obedience is better than burnt offerings, and to take heed, is more than to offer the fat of rams. Moses also in Deuteronomy, commending obedience unto the people, saith; Lo, saith Moses, I set before your faces this day, blessing and cursing. Blessing, if ye obey unto the commandments of the Lord your God, which, I command this day; and cursing if ye do not obey. Of this true obedience Saint Paul maketh mention, in these words writing to the Romans, where he saith, he received grace and apostleship, that faith might be obeyed among all people, &c. for faith requireth obedience, that is, that we acknowledge the will of God in Christ, which is the word of the Father, and being made partakers of the grace of God by his merit, should also, through the same Christ our Lord, both believe in obeying, and obey in believing.

And whosoever putteth his perfect belief and hope in God, looketh for reward at his only hands, and without God counteth not upon his own works and deeds, but appointeth them their limits; so that he rendereth them unto God, as though they were done of God, from whom all good things proceed, and acknowledgeth God to be the only beginning and finishing of all goodness: that man is doubtless he, that may be said to obey truly, that is to say, in following the truth, and for truth's sake in contemning all things, that this deceivable world, is wont both to make shew of, and to magnify.

And to the intent mankind should clearly and plainly, not only with ears, but also with eyes, understand and see this truth of obedience, that is to say, to the intent as many as are children, should be drawn both outwardly and inwardly, of the heavenly Father, to attain that truth: the word, Jesus Christ, proceeded from the Father into the Virgin, and taking upon him a very true and a mortal body, became flesh; and the very same, both God and man, dwelt among us, shewing his glory in signs

and power, as the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father; and told us plainly of God, whom no man hath seen at any time, and went before, and shewed us the true ways of obedience; that like as by the disobedience of one man, many became sinners, so by the obedience of one, many should be made righteous; and that death, which the sin of disobedience brought in, being overcome, men should truly live indeed, in Christ, by virtue of obedience.

For to believe surely in God, and to cleave constantly unto him, which the Scriptures calleth a righteous man's life; is doubtless to obey him, and in exercising obedience, to chasten the body, to bring the flesh into servitude, to subdue the kingdom of sin as much as lieth in us; to depend on God, to make our members servants of righteousness, to set light by our own commodity, and for God's sake to care for other men's; to trust that God himself will be our reward, and without God, or besides God, to count nothing pleasant or delectable. This is to love the Lord, with all our heart, who is a jealous God, that cannot away with any man that serveth any other master; but he requireth to have the man whole to himself, and not to be hewn in pieces, to serve divers masters' commandments; but he will be only worshipped, and he will be only served of them that be his.

This secret will of God, being, by his unsearchable device, hidden from the beginning, is now in the end of the world, revealed unto us, by our Christ, the slain sacrifice and ransom of mankind; who in appeasing the most justly deserved wrath of God, hath declared the wholesome doctrine of obedience in his deeds; and hath suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps, which if we will consider, we shall plainly find, that to be true obedience, which, all other matters set apart, executeth and practiseth the will of God, expressed to mankind in the word, which is Christ; and being stirred up of God, ascribeth also the effect and end

unto God, who giveth the gift, both to will and to work, according to his own good will. Therefore when Christ's mother troubled him, as he was teaching in the temple, and occupied in the office of true obedience, Dost thou not know, saith he, that I must needs be about my father's business? to shew manifestly, that even the affection of nature, ought to obey the will of God, and that nothing ought to be done, before the commandment of God, by obedience. As the Father commanded me, saith he, so I do; and in another place, I am not sent, but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel: shewing thereby, that nothing ought to be desired, that should blemish the office of true obedience.

When the hour of Christ's passion drew near, and when he had made that form of prayer, that should be most convenient for our weak frailty, at the peril of death, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; he added straightways, to declare the victory of obedience, more plainly, Not as I will, but as thou wilt. Which his Father's commandments, God the Son obeyed to the uttermost in the mystery of our redemption, to shew us how we should obey; and because, as the old said saw is, we should not spoil the wine with pouring in water, and lose all the fruit of obedience; he hath also with his own most true and most certain words, taught us in another place, and prefaced the same also in his deeds, that he sought not his own glory, through his obedience, but his Father's; I, saith he, seek not mine own glory, but my Father's; If I, saith he, glorify myself, my glory is nothing. And in another place, he giveth us more plain meaning of this, saying, Let your light, saith he, so shine before men that they may glorify your father, who is in heaven. If we hope for commendation or vain-glory at men's hands, we lose our reward, and shall appear one day before the presence of Almighty God, with empty vessels, like the foolish virgins, and shall suffer a most grievous repulse of the spouse at his coming. Therefore, let not thy left hand

know what thy right hand doth; left hand matter is ungain, and wicked whatsoever proceedeth of the flesh. Do not therefore defile nor mar God's matters with man's devices, but obey secretly from the flesh, and God shall reward thee in secret.

And hereunto I suppose it may be applied, that St. Paul writeth: Not he that is a Jew openly, is a Jew; neither is the circumcision of the flesh, that is done openly, circumcision; but he that is a Jew secretly, is a right Jew; and the circumcision of the heart, is the circumcision, that consisteth in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God.

Let the Lord therefore be both our part, and the whole sum of our inheritance, who only shall restore a sure inheritance unto us; that is to say, let us obey God for God's sake, which only is true obedience; which returneth thither, whence it came; and where it proceedeth of truth, it goeth into truth, and is contained of all one beginning and ending.

By this manner of order, it seemeth that St. Paul set forth the rule of obedience, when he bade servants be obedient unto their masters for God's sake; declaring plainly, that God is the author and rewarder of that just obedient service, that servants do unto their bodily masters; so that whatsoever shall certainly appear to be done in his name, we may not doubt, but he will accept and take it in good part. And according thereto, it appeareth to be written in the Gospel: Blessed shall you be, when men hate you, and persecute you, &c., for the Son of Man's sake; rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven. For if we suffer buffeting justly for our faults, as St. Peter saith, what gramercy is it to us? For that is exhibited unto the laws, and not unto God, even as that is not worthy of any reward at God's hand, how godly soever it seem in outward appearance, that hunteth after any earthly matter, glory, or estimation of man, which is the practice of hypocrites, unto whom the saying of God is mentioned: Thou hast received thy

reward. For so shall the man be cursed that obeyeth not God, which happeneth two manner of ways, either when we put the commandments of God in practice, in outward shew before men, or else for ambition, vain-glory, or vauntage sake, whereof I have spoken something already before. As for the final judgment of this matter, God hath particularly reserved it unto himself, to be pronounced at the day of his just judgment, most earnestly inhibiting us, that we pronounce not rashly of any man's heart in that behalf; yea, though they do not altogether as evil as we have done in this kind of sin, as he hath not prohibited men to talk of all things, or in that, that men are permitted to judge of, when we cloke true obedience with counterfeit obedience, and neglecting that that God commandeth, we provide us other ware to keep us occupied withal, turning the deaf ear to that most sore sentence of God's truth: In vain do you worship me, in the commandments and doctrines of men, seeing you have broken my precepts, for your own tradition.

And to the intent we do not so, we ought first of all to take heed, that we keep surely that mark, which is certain and is signed with the finger of God, whereby we may make a distinction between God's causes and man's, that they be not shuffled together. First of all therefore reckon upon this for a certainty, that the oracles of God, contained in the Holy Scriptures, by the declaration of the Holy Ghost, do report unto us the most certain true word of God, that we may thereby understand and learn his will and the certainty of his commandments and doctrine, to the intent, being instructed in that way of commandments, we may go strait to the country everlasting.

Then, Sir, what is commanded in them? Many things are commanded in them surely; whereof some things in the Old Testament were chiefly spoken, not to justify the soul inwardly, but for the keeping of the people in order, which in this new people regenerate in Christ, are vanished away, even as it were by the light of truth succeeding darkness, which it were

superfluous, and not to the purpose, to treat of at this present, forasmuch as mine intent is to speak only of those precepts, which God determined to signify, not unto one only sort of people, but by one sort of people, unto all nations, whereof not so much as one jot or one tittle could be pretermitted.

And these, of some men are called, moral precepts, which forasmuch as they pertain also to holiness and chastity of life and manners, they are deemed to abide still perfectly in their full strength and virtue. And thereof we may be persuaded, as well by many other places, as namely by this place of the Gospel, where Christ teaching the people, pronounceth so plainly, that we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless our righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. In which saying, albeit Christ did not altogether allow the righteousness of the pharisees, because it was only a human and a carnal righteousness, that is to say, it consisteth in outward hypocrisy of deeds, and sprang not out of that fountain of the spirit, whom the only grace of God, in the same Christ's merits, causeth to spout water; yet by this conference,* we take it, that he shewed and admonished us the pure behaviour, which the law required in the Scribes and Pharisees, and not to remit nor to set it at liberty, by the doctrine of the gospel; but by that signification of words, to enlarge the limits of holiness and chastity, and to require the encreasing and going forward thereof, in this new law of the gospel.

For the liberty which is given unto us by the gospel, and is thought to have abrogated Moses's law, pertaineth not to that intent, that we may forget the moral precepts, and haunt a light, dissolute, and filthy manner of life; but that we should be free from sin, and become the servants of righteousness; and that, looking what the will of God teacheth us in the Scriptures, to tend unto godliness, we should haunt that, and

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* Collatione, Comparaison.

embrace that, according to God's commandment, so as the state of our obedience may be constantly certain.* Of the which moral precepts in the Old Law, to speak of some, for my purpose is not to make present rehearsal particularly of them all, the Levitical precepts, touching forbidden and incestuous marriages, as far as they concern chaste and pure wedlock, wherein the whole custom of man's life is contained, and the original fountain of the increase of people consisteth; are always reputed to be of such sort, that being indeed given first to the Jews, because they should be declared to advance the law of nature, they should pertain to all manner of people in the whole world for evermore. Wherein doubtless, both the voice of nature and the commandment of God, have forbidden whatsoever is contrary to the condition of them both.

And among these, seeing there is a commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what ought or could the King of England, his most excellent Majesty have done, otherwise than by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his church he hath done?† that is, that he should be divorced from unlawful marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation: and obeying, as meet it was, conformably unto the commandment, he should cast off her, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chaste and lawful marriage. Wherein, forasmuch as the judgment of God's word might have sufficed, whereunto all men ought to obey without stopping or staying, yet the King's most royal Majesty was content to have the assisting consents of men of notable gravity, and the censures of the most famous universities of the world. And all to the intent, that men should think, he did that he both might do, and ought to do uprightly well, seeing

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* Ut obedientiæ nostræ ratio queat constare.

† Then the Bishop of Canterbury was not all the doer, but the Church and Parliament.—Wood.

the best learned and worthy good men, have subscribed unto it: and that he shewed such obedience in so doing, as the truth of God's Word,* seemeth to require of every godly and good man, so as it might be said that he both obeyed God, and obeyed truly; of whom, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass over with silence, that which occasion had commodiously offered, upon this matter.

But let us return to the purpose, which chiefly standeth in this point, that, we shew, that he obeyeth truly,† who walketh in the law of the Lord, and blencheth‡ not out of the way of God's commandments; but with an humble and willing heart, committeth himself to God's will, never to refuse the authority of God, and to obey both him and all them, whom God commandeth him to obey for his sake. Indeed, God, according to his exceeding great and unspeakable goodness toward mankind, to increase abundance of glory in us, whereby he might establish present matter for us, to exercise ourselves godly and thankworthily in; substituted men, who being put in authority as his vicegerents, should require obedience, which we must do unto them with no less fruit, for God's sake, than we should do it, what honour so ever it were, immediately unto God himself. And in that place he hath set princes, whom, as representatives of his image unto men, he would have to be reputed in the supreme, and most high room, and to excel among all other human creatures, as St. Peter writeth: and that the same princes reign by his authority, as the holy Proverbs make report, By me, saith God, kings reign, insomuch, that after Paul's saying, Whosoever resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God.

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* If it were so by God's word then, why do you say nay now?—Wood.

† Why doth D. Ridley lie in prison, if this Oration be true? So by your double sayings; you are a double traitor, and a very weathercock.—Wood.

‡ Discedit.

Which Paul opening that plainly unto Titus, which he speaketh here generally, commanded him to warn all men, to obey their princes. And there be other men appointed also of God, to require obedience, howbeit in an inferior order. For the wife being in subjection to her husband, the servant to the master, and to whomsoever any man is in subjection, they must also obey their governors for God's sake. Whereof it chanceth now and then that some men, not understanding the sense of God's law rightly, stand in doubt, when two governors' commandments given at all one self-same time, vary, and be contrary and manifestly repugnant one to the other; whether of them ought first and most principally to be obeyed.

As for example, the master biddeth the servant do a thing, and the king commandeth him to do a clean contrary thing, and both at one time, and in one moment.

And forasmuch as they ought both to be obeyed for God's sake, by the Word of God; the very nature of things, cannot admit both their commandments, to be applied in at all one self-same time, and of all one self-same man. Here, in like as it might perchance be doubted of some man, that hath not yet his wits much exercised, whether of them the servant is bounden chiefly and most principally to obey; even so unto him that marketh well other like causes, the solution of such a question shall anon plainly appear; that nature itself frameth the matter so, that the inferiors must also serve and give place to the superiors.

Therefore in this propoundeth example, the servant must not obey his master, but the king, as his superior master; as him, whom both the master and servant are bounden to obey.

And forasmuch as we acknowledge, that there is one above both the servant, master, and king, even God; who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, of whom all things, by whom all things, and in whom all things are; his commandments all men ought to obey, principally and afore all things, both servant, master, and king: that they may appear to have obeyed all men for God's sake; but no man without God, nor against God.

Therefore is the wife praised that obeyeth her husband, yea, even unto death. For it is better to obey God than men.

Thus inasmuch as it is manifest, that order ought to be kept in obedience, and that our duty is to obey every one chiefly, after such sort, as he excelleth other in order and prerogative, by the testimony of God's law: I think it requisite for me, seeing I am speaking of the necessary degree of orders, to touch also in this place, that cause which is commonly in use, and spoken of at this day almost in all men's hands, and in all men's mouths: whether the whole consent of Englishmen be grounded upon God's law, in that they declare and honour the most victorious and most noble prince Henry the Eighth, King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, to be in earth the supreme head of the Church of England; and is granted unto him, by authority thereof, in the open court of parliament, freely to use his right, and to call himself supreme head of the Church of England, as well in name as in deed. Wherein there is no newly invented matter wrought, only their will was, to have the power pertaining to a prince, by God's law, to be the more clearly expressed, with a more fit term to express it by; namely for this purpose, to withdraw that counterfeit vain opinion out of the common people's minds, which the false pretended power of the Bishop of Rome, had, for the space of certain years, blinded them withal, to the great impeachment of the king's authority; which all men are bounden to wish, and to their uttermost power, see kept safe, restored, and defended from wrongs.

Wherein surely I see no cause, why any man should be offended, that the king is called the head of the Church of England, rather than the head of the Realm of England. Here now, I appeal unto thee, gentle reader, to set apart the terming of term words in the mean season,* and to weigh the matter itself. For I am not ignorant of the force of both the manner of speeches,

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* Ut sepositis interim appellationibus, rem ipsam consideres.

and that this word, Church, signifieth, not every congregation, but with an adjection, as I hate the malignant church, but that any multitude of people, which being united in the profession of Christ, is grown into one body. For this came in by custom, that this term, Church, which else is a common term, became, notwithstanding, the proper name of a more excellent body. But this word, Realm, is more plainly known, and comprehendeth all subjects of the king's dominions, whosoever they may be, and of what condition soever they be, whether they be Jews, Barbarians, Saracens, Turks, or Christians.

Then, seeing in this matter, which I have in hand, the matter that is meant by it, is of such sort, that it agreeth indifferently with both manner of speeches; and seeing the Church of England consisteth of the same sorts of people at this day, that are comprised in this word, Realm, of whom the king is called the head: shall he not, being called the Head of the Realm of England, be also the head of the same men, when they are named the Church of England? Shall the terming of words, inasmuch as they have none other use, but to signify things, be of such force in this cause, as to turn the nature of the things themselves upside down? That one man should be taken in his estate of being, and another in his estate, all one according to the diversity of names. I know well enough, that by relation of names, the offices are sometimes changed, and that the self-same all one man, as he is called by this name or that name, must also do the parts of office agreeing to that name. But if the king be the head of the Realm, that is as much as a man would say, he hath so many as are within the dominion of the Realm, united all unto himself, as unto one body, that they may take him for their supreme head; can it be, by any possible means, through the mutation of the name, for all one self-same man, to be in subjection to this head, and not to be in subjection to this head, in all one kind of subjection, that is to say, for God's sake?

For there is no subjection against God. What a folly were it then, for a man to confess, that all one man, if he had to call

him John, dwelling in England, is in subjection to the king, as unto the head; and if ye call him a christian, of the same sort, to say that he is not a subject? For in that his abiding is in England, he is of the Realm; and in that he is a christian, dwelling in England, he is deemed to be of the Church of England. The king, say they, is the Head of the Realm; but not of the Church; whereas, notwithstanding, the Church of England is nothing else, but the congregation of men and women, of the clergy, and of the laity, united in Christ's profession; that is to say, it is justly to be called the Church, because it is a communion of christian people; and of the place, it is to be named, the Church of England, as is the Church of France, the Church of Spain, and the Church of Rome. So that they, who confess the king to be the supreme Head of the Realm, and yet grant him not to be the supreme Head of the Church, on God's name, being one congregation in the same Realm, which is either their own ignorance, or their own malice, this is their plain meaning, that the king is the head of the unfaithful, and not of the faithful: except the king himself be an infidel, that either an infidel king doth bear rule over a faithful or unfaithful people, or else the same king joining himself to the Christian Church, giveth over, from thenceforth, his authority and power. I wonder exceedingly, that any such one is found, that can mean thus; and yet I cannot find, what the adversaries have to say for themselves, but thus; as for any other sure and grounded allegation, they bring none, but such as hangeth together in no point, nor agreeth with itself. The king, say they, is Head of the Realm, but not of the Church. O what an absurd and foolish saying is that! As though, because the people beginneth now to believe in God,* it were a just cause, why they should be no more in subjection to the king, God's lieutenant, but be exempt quite from his body.

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* If they begin to believe but now, then their belief was no belief before now.—Wood.

But Paul taught not so, who said, that the authority of masters over their servants should not be changed or diminished, through professing of Christ, but warned them to keep it still in perfect authority, bidding servants to be obedient unto their bodily masters for God's sake. The converting of a wife unto faith, withdraweth nothing from the authority of her husband; for he is the head of the wife still, and because she, after she had professed the faith, should shew no token of misorder, whereby she might pluck the minds of some from religion; St. Peter's mind was, that wives having professed the faith, should leave off the office of preaching, which they executed by words; and win, without the word, their husbands, through their chaste conversation.

Therefore, the authority of the master towards the servant, and the right of the husband's superiority over the wife, is not lost by the mean of religion: and shall it be lost to the king? Who, forasmuch as he, yea though he be an infidel, representeth, as it were the image of God upon earth, so that he is called the head and the guide of the people, shall his state be nipped off because of the christian profession? And shall he be called no more the head of the people, which is the Church, but the nearer he draweth to God by faith, which is the only mean to come to God, shall he so much the further go away from God's image? And shall he begin to be had in so much less reverence with the people for that name's sake, that he ought most chiefly to be honoured for? Truly, if he be the head of the people, and that by the ordinance of God, as no man sayeth nay; yea, even as well when the people as the prince, be as far as possible dissevered from God through infidelity; how much more now, seeing they accord through the power of God in one profession of faith, and by that means are a Church, ought he to retain the name of supreme head? And that he may worthily be taken for the Head of the Church still, he representeth the office that he occupieth in God's stead, much more honourably now, than

before-time, when he wandered in the darkness of infidelity. Paul without difference, biddeth them obey those princes that bear the sword. St. Peter speaketh of kings by name, Christ himself commandeth tribute to be paid unto Cæsar, and checked his disciples for striving who should be the greatest. Kings of the nations, quoth he, bear rule over them, declaring plainly in so great variety of degrees and orders, which God doth garnish this world withal, that the dominion and authority pertaineth to none but to princes.

But here some men will say to me: you travail about that, that no man is in doubt of. For who ever denied, that the prince ought to be obeyed? It is most certain, that he that will not obey the prince, is worthy to die for it: as it is comprehended in the old law, and also confirmed in the new law. But we must see will he say, that the king do not pass the limits appointed him, as though there must be an arbiter for the ordering of his limits. For it is certain, that obedience is due, but how far the limits of requiring obedience extend, that is the whole question that can be demanded.

What manner of limits are those that you tell me of, seeing the Scripture hath none such? But generally speaking of obedience, which the subject is bounden to do unto the prince, the wife unto the husband, or the servant to the master, it hath not added so much as one syllable of exception; but only hath preserved the obedience due to God, safe and whole, that we should not hearken unto any man's word in all the world, against God. Else the sentences, that command obedience, are indefinite, or without exception, but are of indifferent force universally; so that it is but lost labour for you, to tell me of limits, which cannot be proved by any testimony of Scripture.

We are commanded doubtless to obey. In that consisteth our office, which if we mind to go about, with the favour of God and man, we must needs shew humbleness of heart, in obeying authority, how grievous soever it be, for God's sake; not

questioning nor inquiring, what the king, what the master, or what the husband ought, or may command other to do. And if they will take upon them, either of their own head, or when it is offered them, more than right and reason is, they have a Lord unto whom they either stand or fall, and that shall one day sit in judgment even of them. Yet for all this, some men will say: Yea, but ye promised in the beginning, to speak of that, which you are about now to avoid your hands of, having forgotten your purpose, as it appeareth. No, Sir, say I, I avoid not my hands of it, but I say, it is sufficiently confirmed, by these that we have spoken of before, that princes ought to be obeyed, by the commandment of God: yea and to be obeyed without exception, as a thing, whereof there is no mention in that law, which if thou put any thing to, or take any thing from, thou art a wicked* man: what would we have more?

For if I must take in hand to interpret the general doctrine of obedience, as it ought to be, and shall confer and compare Scripture to Scripture, and search out the true and right meaning of the Scripture, as the most godly and greatest learned men are both wont and ought to do; I see no cause indeed, why I should do any less than they did. Therefore let us consider, what those Scriptures say, which are alleged on the contrary part. OBEY YOUR RULERS, saith Paul to Hebrews: which place, and xiii. to the Romans, some expound of the Bishop of Rome's authority, which they call, the ecclesiastical power. Also in the Acts of the Apostles, Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, among whom the Holy Ghost hath set you to be overseers, to govern the Church of God, whom he hath purchased with his own blood. And lest we should pass over any thing, although it is meant to another purpose, let us not omit that, that Peter speaketh, concerning the royal priesthood. For this text; Whatsoever thou shalt bind in earth, &c., pertaineth to

* Then are you a devil.—WOOD.

another matter; and this, Feed my Sheep; besides that, that Christ spake with his own mouth, meaneth no more, but that I have already shewed, was commanded, concerning the government of the church. These sentences, and such like, though they be understood, as those men would have them, that is, that we should obey bishops and ministers of the Word of God in the Church, are nothing against the king's authority, but that he may be called the Head of the Church, no more, than the obedience to the king is any thing nipped or diminished, in that, that the wife is commanded to obey her husband, and the servant his master, as it were with general speech of words.

For like as with the lawyers, as they themselves term it, there be now and then sundry jurisdictions that proceed out of all one thing, and yet they mar not one another; but they consist and concur by the mutual help of one to another; even so in that the government of the Church is committed to the apostles, and to those that succeed in their rooms, may not be thought to abrogate or diminish that that God hath committed unto princes, in any condition.

The parson, vicar, or the parish priest's care of his parishioners, is never the less, because the bishop ought also to oversee; neither may the bishop's jurisdiction be deemed of none effect, because he must take the archbishop for his superior. For the curate, the bishop, and the archbishop do govern the Church, every one in their degree and order.

Then like as every one of them doing their office, seem not to hinder one another, but to help one another; even so, in that we find, the government of the Church was committed to the apostles, and to those that succeed in their room; that which beforehand is committed of God to princes, is in no wise taken away. But forasmuch as government hath need of many things, especially teaching and preeminence according to the sundry distribution of gifts; unto some God hath committed the office of teaching, and the ministry of the sacraments in all one body,

and to some preeminence, not to be adversaries, but as divers members agree in one body, so in government they should accord together, and every one go about his own office with charity. But here methinks, I hear some men startle, and as it were, wondrous earnestly chide, because I had rather use a new making of distribution, than the old accustomed distinction; which as those men think, doth put a handsome difference between the governments of a prince, and of the Church; that is, that the prince should govern in temporal matters, and the Church in spiritual; after the which distinction, the prince, as the moon which is called the less light, should have charge of such matters, as are of the night; but the other, which be of the spirit and of the day light, he must reserve to the sun alone, to be discussed.

Forsooth, a blind distinction, and full of darkness. For if thou leave unto a christian prince the name of a king still, so that his duty is, not only to be the chief over the people, in God's stead, but also to govern them, and rule them; first I ask, what way shall a christian prince take in government, to lead christian people by: the way of truth, which leadeth unto life, or the way of lies, which hasteth to death? for there is no midway found. If he shall take the way of truth, what charge of temporal matters, tell you me of, when the Scripture crieth; Seek first the kingdom of God, as for other things, they must not be sought for, for God's liberality must give them? Must every man in his own private cause seek the kingdom of God, and must a prince in his administration neglect it, or at least, not care for it? This is the matter surely, because the good men were afraid, lest any king should wax too holy, and in this behalf, lest he should fall into virtue too earnestly, they invented a fine device,* thinking it a witty part, to appoint a

* They did not so wisely invent the device, but you as subtilly follow the same steps.—Wood.

king his office, so as he take no thought whether his people be good or not, I mean, after the goodness that is meet for the profession of christian men, so that they be not notoriously cried out upon for abominable impiety and wicked deeds, so as they seem not to become, more like beasts than men. Therefore it must be the king's charge, to see, that they steal not, nor murder, and that the lay folk oppress not the good people.

But as for all manner of whoredoms, or worse than whoredom, and whatsoever those men do, whose title and raiment would make a man to think the contrary in them; though their behaviours be never so far out of order, the king must let it alone, and pass not on it.

For those are spiritual matters, that is to say, spiritual men's sins, which they bid the king, let them alone withal; as though it were enough for him to govern his people in temporal affairs, and that it were not for him to know any further. This indeed is the most special way to mar* all, and far contrary from his office that occupieth God's room on earth.

Is this to feed the people? Which word the Scripture useth to kings; nay, Saint Dunstan, who was a very holy† and a right good man, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, did a great deal after another sort, with great rejoicing, interpret the charge of a prince in correcting the manners of the church, being gladly well assayed of the king's saying, when he told him, he would join sword to sword,‡ to the intent the light dissolute manners of the

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* Trusting of prelates overmuch marreth all.—Wood.

† Dunstan, a holy man, and my dog other.—Wood.

‡ Gardiner here alludes to the celebrated address to the dissolute clergy of his day, ascribed to King Edgar, and which contains some pointed remarks not wholly inapplicable to our own time.—The expression referred to is, "Ego Constantini, vos Petri, gladium habetis in manibus. Jungamus dexteras, gladium gladio copulemus: ut ejiciantur extra castra leprosi, etc.—Spelm. Concil. 477.

holy churchmen, might be framed into the right trade of life. By the one sword, alluding to the saying of Paul, which the ministers of the word, exercise in preaching and excommunicating: by that other sword, shewing a supremacy appointed by the law of God, whereunto, as many as are the king's subjects, which is the congregation that we call the Church, are all bounden thoroughly to obey. For the king is commanded, to govern the people: and the prophet* warning princes of their duty, saith to them: Now you kings get you understanding, and be learned you that are judges of the land.

But if we admit these men's interpretation, then should princes have no more understanding, nor be further learned, than to be negligent almost in all things; that is to say, they should not meddle with the one half of the people, if they serve the Lord in name and apparel: and as for the rest of the people, they should correct them, not to refrain from all gross sins, but from some.

But the prophet's interpretation, is another manner of matter, which he bringeth in afterward, saying: Serve the Lord in fear: what this meaneth, we must understand and learn it of God's own mouth, for God's mouth speaketh plainly in the Holy Scriptures both of the Old Testament and New. Touching King Solomon's administration, this doth Scripture report; King Solomon, according to his father's appointment, ordained the offices of the priests in their ministries, and Levites in their order; that they might give thanks, and minister before the priests after the order of every day, and porters in their divisions gate by gate. Here you do hear that King Solomon took care also of holy or spiritual matters, not unadvisedly, but by the appointment of David his father, of whom God, by the prophet protesteth, that he had found a man after his own heart.

So that the same history of Solomon, speaketh of this sort following: for so had the man of God commanded, neither did

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* Princes ought to be learned in the Scripture.—Wood.

they omit any of the king's commandments, neither the priests, nor Levites, of all that he had commanded.

Whereto should I here make rehearsal of King Jehoshaphat his carefulness, that set up the high judgment seat of the priests and Levites' households in Jerusalem? By what authority did he so, but by his regal power? taking it to be his office, rather to take charge concerning divine matters than human. What a bold deed had that been of King Hezekiah, even the very first year and the first month of his reign, so to have busied himself with the administration of divine matters; if the discipline of his regal office, which he received of God, had not required it? That is to say, that a king ordained of God, who is the eternal spirit, should take charge of spiritual and eternal affairs, before and rather than corporal matters, and things that shall perish in time? This very Hezekiah therefore, the Scripture commendeth so highly, that there was none of all the Kings of Judah, which observed all the Lord's precepts like unto him.

For his will was to seek the Lord with all his whole heart, as he did indeed and prospered, as the Scripture testifieth in 2 *Chron.* xxix. What did this Hezekiah, I say? In the very first year and first month of his reign, he did not only build up the gates of the Lord's House again, but also gave diligence to reform the priests themselves, and to repair the lively building, that was decayed. For he not only admonished the priests, that dwelt together on the East Street of the City, of their negligence in their office, but also, like a man of authority, said: Hearken, O ye Levites and priests: be ye sanctified and make clean the House of the Lord, the God of your fathers, and put away all uncleanness from the sanctuary, &c. I pray you, what could he speak more imperiously? For he spake not, as one, that exhorteth them, as inferiors, or those that be fellow-like, use to take in themselves with all, to cause the communication of the matter, to be the more easily taken. Which manner of talk is requisite sometime, in a gentle godly heart, in another man's cause.

And if Hezekiah lusted to have spoken after that rate, he would not have said, be ye sanctified, but let us be sanctified: nor make you clean, but let us make clean: nor put ye away, but let us put away: or if the matter had been such, that it would not admit fellowship, if a private man should have wished or declared those cases, it had become him neither to make himself fellow-like with the matter to be required, to exhort them, nor to require it by the way of commandment.

But the right good prince Hezekiah, being taught of God, what his regal office, charge, and administration was, used such manner of talk unto the priests, as should declare the authority and power of the speaker. Therefore he speaketh in the imperative mood: Hearken, make clean, and put away. And the priests themselves, as it appeareth in the same place, did, as the King had justly bidden them, and obeyed his commandment. Thus were those kings learned, that fully and entirely applied their office, by God's authority among God's people.

And these things will God require at princes' hands, a great deal more in these days: that they should hearken, how the prophet exhorteth them, to lay hand upon this manner of learning, to govern the people by, and to serve the Lord with fear and trembling; and to cause the people, not to be such as they lust themselves to be, but a worthy and an acceptable people unto the Lord, as much as in them were possible,* and so to be found faithful stewards, in that day, when they shall yield account of the administration which they took upon them. Let them therefore hear what the wise man saith: Hear, O ye kings, and understand, mark with your ears, you that are rulers of the multitude, for power is given unto you of the Lord, and strength from the Highest, which shall enquire, what your works be. Therefore princes must not pass the time in slothfulness, negligence, and idleness, but continually serve the Lord. For

* How can that be if God's Book be taken from them?—Wood.

their beauty is, to be so much the more careful in the office that God hath given them (as one hath written), as they see themselves the more bounden, yielding account. For it is a great talent, that God hath put princes in trust withal: that is, that they should not only rule the people, but also rule them rightly, not in any one part alone, but in all particularly; and so to look unto the Lord's vineyard, which men think they have taken in hand to keep in good husbandry, that they not only pluck out such things as are noisome, but also trim it and lay new dung to it, and to leave no point of husbandry undone; that the vineyard may bring forth fruit more plenteously, which the good man of the house shall require in his season.

For who is able to save princes harmless, or bear them out, that when they have taken upon themselves, all the whole charge to govern the people by God's authority; they may compact afterward, that the greater part shall have the charge of the other, and they in the mean while, as though they had done their office gaily well, take their ease and care for nothing? And where a word was once spoken, because of the reverence of their present virtue, and not by the truth of their authority: shall men, though it were spoken of a man so affected, usurp it for that end to mock out the charge of God's authority? I mean, the saying of Constantine: I will not judge you, of whom I myself ought to be judged.

God speaketh generally, he excepteth no man, he committeth sometimes a naughty people, to a naughty prince. If sometimes a good people to a good prince, then he putteth him so much the more in trust, that men may surely think, he hath the supremacy over all the people, according to the commandments of God, and not over one part of the people, after the traditions of men. Which people, being knit together in one belief of Christ, seeing it is a Church; what absurdity is it that a prince, who is called the Head of the People, should be called also the Head of the Church, which that people maketh? You will say perchance,

Christ only is the Head of the Church. We all confess it, or else we could not properly constitute a Church, but the Church of Malignants. Indeed we acknowledge that Christ is the* Head of the Church, and that he reigneth with the Father in heaven, who is our advocate, sitting on the Father's right hand, and maketh intercession for us.

But as concerning that Christ, the mediator of God, and men, both God and man, is the Head of the Church; that Church hath none addition, forasmuch as the Church of England is not the Church, alone, but also the Church of France, of Spain, and of Rome, for the Church is not circumscript to any place, but wheresoever it be in all the wide world, even among the Turks, where God hath sealed up his own children unto himself, who (as the Gospel saith†) draweth all, unto whom he hath given power to become his children.

Therefore let this be out of controversy, about the which it were wickedness to contend, I will not say dispute. And to avoid this, that there remain no cause of evil report of it, there is to this word Head,‡ added in Earth; and to this word Church, is added of England. Of which Church of England, the supreme Head in Earth, forasmuch as both scripture and reason do allow it, as a thing in-existent unto the name of a prince and of a king; all English people, thought it meet, to have that matter expressed in plain words; both the commons, and the fathers, yea, and even those, that were reputed to be from that jurisdiction, by prescription of time, and not by prescription of truth. For, why should they not consent to the truth? Indeed the newness and unwont novelty of the word neither could, nor ought make men any thing afraid;§ for, after it appeared, that the thing itself, which was

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* Nota. † John i.

‡ The King's supremacy by Parliament.

§ Prescription of time is not allowed, but prescription of truth.

expressed by name, was not only true, but also ancient; it came of advised judgment and not of temerity, that some notable name should be set forth, to stir up the hollow hearts and feeble judgments of some men, unto the consideration of the truth by and to advertise the subjects by that name; that the prince is the whole prince of all the people,* and not of part: and that the same body of the people, growing into that condition, to be called the Church, is not one-handed, nor cut off by the stumps, but that it consisteth perfectly whole, the same prince being as the head: whose office is, to take charge, not only of human matters, but much more of divine matters, that is, to distribute fitly unto every member of the body, their proper offices;† that he with his eyes, with his ears, and with his mouth according to the care, whereby he hath the government, by the gift of God, in ministering unto the body, and charging every one with their duty, he may apply that manner of office, that God shall doubtless, one day, call for a reckoning of, at the hands of a christian prince, having the government of a christian people. Thus much touching the novelty of the name.

For else the matter itself, hath both many and right weighty examples, not those only, which I have before rehearsed out of the old law, but many other also; not comparable indeed with them (in that they are grounded upon God's Word) in gravity and weighty importance; howbeit, forasmuch as they are pertinent to the cause, they are not to be omitted. Then sir, who did ever disallow Justinian's fact, that made laws concerning the glorious Trinity, and the catholic faith, of bishops, of men of the clergy, of heretics, and others, such like? Which laws he either made in vain, or else he declared, that he had the charge of that part of the people also, which ought to be of the greater purity and

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* Wherefore Supreme Head is written in the King's style.

+ The office of a prince is to take charge in divine matters.

of the more holiness, as he saith himself he had; having pertained in this behalf, unto the judgment of the truth, out of all peradventure. How often do we read, that the causes of heresy have been debated before emperors and princes, and discussed by their trial? If we will bolt out the ancient laws of Kings of England in times past, how many shall we find, concerning religion and the Church, made, proclaimed, and bidden to be put in execution, by the commandment and authority of those kings? Yea, say they, they made such statutes, as Defenders of the Church, and not as authors and Heads of the Church. Who was head then in the mean space? Who had the government? Who had the principal charge? I wot what their answer will be; marry sir, the Bishop of Rome. That will we see hereafter. In the mean while, it must needs be granted, that the King's dignity hath been always above the chiefest Bishops in England; and that, under the name of Defender of the Church, (which title was given unto kings, even of them, that granted least) they did and exercised those things, if not in every instance, yet certainly in most things, that represent the dignity and office of the Head in the Church.

For princes were Defenders of the Church, even as the head maintaineth and defendeth the body. And as he may see it chance almost in every place at this day, that some that be negligent in many things, covet the name for all that. And contrarywise those princes, which have been such in deed and in office, that they ought justly to have been called heads, have refrained only to be *called* heads. For they have made statutes by their authority and by their own laws, to inquire of heresy, wherein consisteth the chief and principal point of office, which is yet still, and hath always been observed even unto these days. But now have they permitted many things unto the bishops and clergy, and have granted them many immunities;* the grant

* The authority and immunity of bishops given by Princes.

whereof ought to be a wondrous great argument, either that princes have been hitherto desired in vain, to grant that that is another man's, which ought to pertain nothing unto him, and that they gave, that they had not themselves, which is a plain absurdity; or else that they had power to exercise themselves, that which they granted to others, and that therefore, they remitted and departed in so doing, with part of their own right. Which being even so, princes have been always Heads, indeed even then when they were called only Defenders; if this be to be the head unto the body, to bear rule over all the people, to command, remit, and sometime to bear with all the members thereof, as much as tendeth to the use of all the whole body; and so to order and moderate every thing, that the glory of God, and the profession of the faith, may be advanced from day to day.

But these men will say; princes have acknowledged the Bishop of Rome, to be the head of the Universal Church: to him they have given condign honour, as to the supreme head, to him they have submitted themselves, his authority they have acknowledged reverencing him as their father, and rejoicing that he called them sons; so that if we should esteem the right by the deeds, and if it be enough to teach deeds for the proof of the right, so as, whatsoever is apparently done, we must confess it to be done rightfully; then doubtless the Bishops of Rome's cause shall be on the better hand.

I would not be reputed so vain or so impudent a man* (which is the farmost end of my thought) as to cloak or to say nay, to those things that have been done; and yet when I shall grant to such things as can not be denied, me thinketh, that like as virtue when it is most thrown under foot, and soiled with vices, yet it sheweth his efficacy, by one shift or other; that we may understand it to be presently oppressed, but not utterly extinct;

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* Winchester not impudent! No full loth —Wood.

even so in the mean season, deeds, which seem to diminish the right title, and authority of the prince, a certain light of the truth hath always peeped out, as it were, out of the most deep darkness; whereby he that marks it more nearly and more surely, might perceive, that these deeds were not whole nor perfect, nor grounded upon just foundations, but had a greater appearance of truth than true in deed, and tokens of honour rather borrowed than paid.

For if that opinion had ever sunk into princes' hearts, that the Bishop of Rome had been Christ's Vicar on Earth, that is, the Head ordained of God to be over all, unto whom all things should bow, all things should obey, without whom nothing must be reckoned holy nor sacred; whose blessing should always give prosperity, whose curse adversity, or if the Bishops of Rome were persuaded, that it were so; the Bishops of Rome would not have practised strange arts and carnal fetches,* rather than strong testimony of God's truth, if they could yet to this day have brought out any such, in the defence of their authority. Neither durst the princes have been so bold, every one in his time, as to nip alway that same authority (which they seemed to grant in words and terms of speech) after that fashion in their proceedings, and doings, not in corners but openly in the face of the world. I speak of such princes, whose excellent religious education, the world now after their deaths, reverenceth and worshippeth; and reckoneth them among the number of saints.

Verily if our elders had believed, that God had committed the charge of all the whole world, unto the Bishop of Rome; what wilful boldness caused them, to make so many statutes against, and contrary to that charge and power advancing itself, under that pretence? And as they would have done many other

* If the Bishop of Rome were Christ's Vicar, he would not have practised ing-gliges.—Wood.

things, yet they durst never have been so bold to do, that they did, to have purposed to blindfold him, from looking about him, and to stop his eyes, whom they esteemed for a watchman set of God, in the higher place to see?

I think it was meet, to mistake so great a diligence in God's vicar, for that he being burthened with the cure and charge of all churches, lest the people should want shepherds, made provision with three sorts of under-shepherds. Against the superior, or against him, it is not lawful to make any law. For inferiors prescribe not laws to the superiors, neither do they lawfully make penalties against their government, how wicked or intolerable soever it be.

Therefore our elders, and princes, that were before time, when they assembled together to counsel upon matters of the common weal; taking deliberate advisement in their open councils, have by statutes and laws, determinately thought it meet to put out that quick sight in the Bishops of Rome's eyes, that it should not serve them to look over, so far as unto us. Yea, those princes seem that they knew their own right authority, and that they were not all ignorant, of the original beginning and nature of the Bishop of Rome's power; and yet the Bishops of Rome* thought it good to allow both their judgments and doings, in the behalf, so much, that they have not only, not found fault with those princes, which both made such statutes and kept them, but also dissembling the foil that they had taken, commended those princes, for their fidelity and obedience. Yea, marry Sir, the Bishops of Rome were circumspect, and the more witty men in their generation,† following in this case the example of subtle merchants; that of an unthrifty bargain, when they have scant half, yet they hold them content, reckoning it all one that they had, because of right they could have claimed nothing. As for our elders when they per-

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* Wily Foxes!

† You are a whelp of the same car.—Wood.

ceived the Bishop of Rome's authority by his fruits, and judged him not to be God's vicar ; they thought that pick-purse authority must be borne withal, and not clean cast out (for reason permitted at the time) ; but their expressed deeds do most manifestly declare, that they were of the same judgment that we are of.*

Nevertheless, as every man's heart serveth him, so doth he either claim his own, and useth it like a stout-hearted man; or else being content with the commodity that is offered him, letteth the rest alone, and wotteth what he thinketh. And seeing the matter standeth even so, there is no reason, why the rest of their doings should trouble them, how contrary in outward appearance soever they seem, by the which they could nip away nothing from God's law, and diminish their power, through temerity or by negligence. Let men call the Bishops of Rome, fathers; let them call them heads, let them advance them with what names they list, yet the truth of things, is not impeached by errors of things misdone.

The Church of Rome was in old time, either by reason of outward holiness,† or by mighty power, not only of great fame, but also of high authority; what I speak of authority, I follow Tully's meaning, who in the weighty importance of witness bearing, attributeth authority unto such as be witty and wealthy men, because of the common people's judgment though it be not always a right, as he saith, yet because it is not easily altered. For else the authority, that the Bishop of Rome should be thought to have by God's law, is non-authority with us indeed, like as *no manner of foreign‡ bishop also hath authority among us.*

Neither let it, in this case, be prejudicial unto the truth, what

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* The negligence and temerity of princes, putteth not away the authority that God giveth them.—Wood.

† The Church of Rome godly in the old time.—Wood.

‡ Remember this lesson yourself, else ye will be shent one day.—Wood.

men have done heretofore in sundry councils, to flourish out the matter withal; that is to say, either serving their own turn, or giving place to the time, or else blinded through ignorance. Let the truth of God's word have the victory now, which if it give no more authority unto these Bishops of Rome, than to all other Bishops, that is, to feed and bring up the people, *within their diocese committed to their spiritual charge*, with the ministration of the word of God, and of his sacraments: let not time prescribe against God's truth,* neither let it be judged, that the princes† or the people were blinded with ignorance, circumvented with subtlety, or greedy of gains, either induced through any other respect, to do, that they neither ought nor could possibly by any means have done.

Because men have used to ask the Bishop of Rome counsel in governing the Church, is it not lawful therefore to do any thing without his counsel? And because princes have suffered their subjects to ask his counsel, did they by that means give over their own authority; which, because it is committed unto them by God, it is not lawful for them to put away? Let‡ the matters, that have, in times past, been made a mingle-mangle, be called again to the true square of God's word: let the grounds of both their powers be weighed, and like as we have by testimony of God's word shewed before, that a prince's mighty power is not gotten by flattery, or by privilege of the people, but given of God; let us also consider, whether the self-same God have given any power to the Bishop of Rome,§ that ought to hinder the supreme power of princes. And in this

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* Time may not prescribe against God's truth.

† Princes may not put away their supremacy, because they have it of God.

‡ Let matters amiss be called home again to that line of God's word.

§ Examples that high priests were subject to princes.

matter, we need not make much ado in searching out the Scriptures of the Old Testament, wherein we have as well touched somewhat already, as also it is most manifest in many other places, that the priests were in subjection to the high princes. Did not Aaron take Moses for his sovereign lord,* which is the manner of speech of him, that acknowledgeth superior authority? Did not Achimelech,† the high priest use the same word of subjection, when he spake to Saul, the King of Israel? Did not Solomon put Abiathar the high priest to death?‡ What did King Alexander (as it appeareth in the Book of Maccabees) write to Jonathan, saying—Now have we this day ordained thee to be the high priest of thy people?§ Do not these sayings sufficiently declare, that the power of princes, was above even the highest priests of all? I speak nothing, that Demetrius gave unto Simon the office of the high priest,‖ and so to others after him. I pass also over many other more. For the multitudes of examples out of God's law doth not so strongly confirm as shew the truth. For this is the difference between God's law, and man's; God's law is constant,¶ but man's law is ever subject unto vanity, and so unto variety.

In God's Word therefore, it is always true, that is once set out by example for truth; as to prove the supreme power and authority of princes, the example of Hezekiah alone, which is registered in God's book, and commended unto us, might justly have sufficed. It remaineth that the Bishop of Rome, must either bring out the tables of the New Testament, or none. But first, to speak universally of the new law, how can any syllable in Christ's words, help his authority, seeing the self-same Christ, doth so openly protest both in words and in deeds that he sought not an earthly kingdom, nor would claim any such kind

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* Exod. xxxii. † 1 Sam. xxii. ‡ 1 Kings ii.

§ 1 Macc. x. ‖ 1 Macc. xiv.

¶ God's law constant—man's vain and variable.

of kingdom; but (the state of orders remaining still) he set forth and taught* the form of heavenly conversation, and the just governance of the inward mind, through the grace of God; which he by his open doings most plainly declared, to consist, not in high ruffling estate, nor in ruling the roast, but contrary-wise in humility and contempt of worldly things, whilst he suffered the most bitter and cruel kind of death for our sakes. And the points of office† of him that is his vicar, if he do his office faithfully, are not to bear rule, but to be in subjection; not to command princes, but to acknowlege himself to be under their power and commandment, not only when they command things indifferent, and easily to be done, but also when they command things not indifferent, so they be not wicked; in checks, in scourgings and beatings unto death, yea, even to the death of the cross.

Indeed these are Christ's footsteps, and this is the majesty of rule bearing in Christ: this, I say, is the true power of Christ, unto us both wondrous and exceeding wholesome: by the which also is power given to us, to become the children of God. This he taught and expressed in his doings, touching the kingdom of Israel. His dreaming disciples he always rebuked: but he never hindered Cæsar's tribute, nor any man's authority, one iota by his deeds. And seeing it is so, I ween, I have made it manifest, if we consider Christ's deeds, which may not be altered nor doubtfully interpreted: we shall find plainly, that all is clean contrary, that the Bishop of Rome challengeth to himself as Christ's Vicar. This therefore only remaineth, that he flee to the words of the Evangelists, who (howsoever men have varied in the interpretation) all men know well enough, how they stand in the text.‡ But what looketh he for in them? Marry Sir, this,

* Christ altered not the state of orders.

† The office of him occupieth Christ's room.

‡ Christ's words and deeds agree.

whether Christ, the way, the truth, and the life, spake ever any thing, wherein he should disagree from his own deeds? That whereas he never sought authority among men, he gave it notwithstanding to the Bishop of Rome, to use as his Vicar. This indeed is the sum of the question, in words (as it is propounded) blasphemous, and wicked, but yet it pointeth out the matter, that I have in hand. For whether in all other matters, as the Evangelist reporteth, Jesus began to do and to teach, and to teach that he did; and in this one only matter, which we now treat of, if he taught any whit of that, which the Bishop of Rome claimeth at this day to himself, by Christ's title, that is, to be above princes, by Christ's words; we must needs confess, that Christ taught in words, that whereof he not only shewed no example in himself, but shewed clean contrary, in all the whole course of his life before. Let this therefore remain still in the cause, that Christ's deeds stand on our side, which may not be wrested by any man's interpretation: only the question is in Christ's words, which now and then, man's interpretation is so saucy as to blemish. Albeit he that shall stand with the Bishop of Rome in this cause, might first of all stick fast in this point: that there is not found in the holy Scriptures so much as one syllable, of the Bishop of Rome; so that what interpretation of Christ's words soever he will stand to, he might seem to lose his action, as they say.

For what is the consequence then? Christ would have Peter to be above princes, as it appeareth it was never his mind—Ergo, he would have the Bishop of Rome to be so too. Why? Because he is Peter's successor. I say no more, but I would he were. And then, in that case, I doubt not, but he should be above all men, though not in half estate of worldly power (as out of doubt he hath none such) yet in admiration and reverence of inward virtue; and in that point, Christ would have those that be his, to excel and be ringleaders even above emperors; as those unto whom, being his ambassadors, he gave the keys of the

kingdom of Heaven, and among them unto Peter, who in all their names, had spoken so wholesome a confession, to acknowledge Jesus to be the son of the living God.* Which confession, like as flesh and blood had not revealed, even so was there no prerogative given unto flesh and blood in Peter, whatsoever was given, but to the chiefer part, which was the spirit; to the intent that being endued the more plenteously with the grace of God, he should be the ringleader in virtue, and might of the Word of God, and in the power of ruling affections. If we should so interpret Christ's words, as if they meant some external power in rule-bearing, which all other folks should acknowledge themselves to be under, yea even princes too; albeit the same self God have set them in the superior room, so that nothing else could be alleged, how could that sentence of Christ stand together?† The disciple is not greater than his master, namely, if the disciple would not be content to be in subjection, as Christ was, but execute the supreme power himself, which his Lord would never take upon him. In the Scriptures, there is no mention made of Peter's supremacy, and Eusebius in Ecclesiastica Historia reporteth, that Clemens, in Sexto lib. Dispositionum, affirmed, that Peter and John and James, after the ascension of our Saviour, although he had set them almost above all the apostles;‡ yet they took not the glory of the supremacy upon them, but that James which is called Justus, was ordained the Bishop of the Apostles.

Notwithstanding for the authorities sake of them, who have not misliked the word of supremacy, I do not so much refuse the word itself, but I flee to the interpretation of the word,§ that it may agree with the right proper meaning of

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* Peter spake one for them all.

† John xiii. ‡ James Bishop of the Apostles.

§ Supremacy may be taken diversely.

the Gospel, expressed in Christ's deeds. Admit that Peter were chief, admit he had the supremacy of Christ, what of that? Was a kingdom, lordship, or preeminence given him with the supremacy? Because he was bid to confirm his brethren in faith, was it given him to bear rule over his brethren therefore? Christ's humble estate knew no such kind of speech, nor matter. For though Christ (as touching his Godhead) was equal unto the Father, with whom he was in the beginning, and in all things which he created, spake, or did; he was always, together with the Holy Ghost, the indivisable worker (one substance of three persons in divinity) although I say, according to his majesty, he hath always had all power, to subdue all things unto himself; he was alive, he is alive, and he shall live: he hath reigned, he reigneth, and he shall reign God for evermore: yet for his exceeding mercy towards mankind, he made himself of no reputation, taking the form of a servant, being in apparel found as man and a very outcast, as the prophet saith,* to make it plain and open, that those things were highly esteemed with men, as empires, dominions, and high authorities, being, as it were, stops and impediments to the attaining of eternal felicity; or rather to be cast away and contemned, than to be greatly sought for, and ambitiously coveted,† yea they are not to be received though they offer themselves, but under this condition, that we receive them as offered of God, to travail in, for the exercise of godliness' sake, every one in his vocation. Which, the greater it is, and the more things it is tangled withal, the harder it will be to do it so well, as every one would be glad and fain to do, that faithfully contendeth to come to the country that ever shall endure.

So that we must understand, that Christ meant never a

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* Phil. ii.—A preacher should not receive lordship.

† Meddling in many offices marreth a preacher—look to yourself therefore.

word of any supremacy of worldly administration, but he appointed his soldiers,* whom he furnished, to encounter as it were in the vanward against the continual frauds, perpetual battle and wars of the world, the flesh, and the devil, to be the forwardest, and as it were the ensign bearers, in the very foremost rank. Whom he knew to be of better courage in faith, to break the more dangerous array of the enemies, because they were not tangled nor letted with any charge of worldly matters; and might by their example of constancy, encourage, allure, and provoke other of the weaker sort, to become soldiers of that band also.

In which kind of warfare, though Christ making choice of his own, gave the uppermost standing to Peter among the brethren, it was no marvel: seeing he had so armed him, that he knew beforehand, though he would give back from the enemy perhaps for a time, yet he would not give it over so, but to it again stoutly, and fight like a tall fellow for the defence of the truth. Ha, was Peter the chief then? No man saith nay. For he confessed Christ to be the very Son of the living God, first. And Peter was of as constant and stedfast mind, in defending of the same truth, at all times, as any man was. He was the first after Christ, that taught the Jews; and in the assembly of the apostles when one should needs speak in all their names, Peter, sometime as the matter required, was chief in the tale telling. Therefore I will not say nay to the argument, which they call argumentum à conjugatis; but that St. Peter, being by so many ways and reasons, the first, might also be thought the chief among the apostles. For like as the wise man has the wisdom, in that he is a wise man, so hath the chief man, chief place or supremacy. What then? he is chief of all the physicians? For why should he not? Among painters also, if there were any one in these days,

* What soldier preachers should be.

as cunning as Apelles or Pharrhasius was, and were called therefore the head painter, would we not say, that he had the supremacy among painters? Yea doubtless. In universities, again, if it were agreed by all men's consents that Lutetia of Paris; as being a university most plenteously furnished and occupied with great learned men, should be called the head university of the world; might not the name of supremacy be fit for it, being chief among other universities? Yes doubtless.

But let us come nearer to the matter. If a man when he had set ONE MAN to govern the whole household, wherein inasmuch as he had a great sort of young men, whom he would fain have taught and instructed in good arts, and would provide many schoolmasters; and among other, there were one man excellently well learned above the rest, whom, as a notable man among other, he would call the chief of all the schoolmasters that he had gotten: and to whose instruction he would commit, those that he setteth most by: hath not he, seeing he is chief schoolmaster, the supremacy? Yes. For the chief person cannot choose, but have chief rule in any matter. For these two words primus which is first, principal, or chief; and primatus which is chief rule, preeminence, and is here rightly englished, supremacy, are conjugata, that is to say, linked together, the one depending of the other, not only in speech, but also in matter. Nevertheless this question may be asked: he of whom I spake, the chief schoolmaster in this household, if there should fall any controversy, touching manners or order, whether of their authorities should be esteemed above the other, his, unto whom the household was committed, or his, that is called to instruct the youth? He that is called the chief, as I said, and therefore he hath the supremacy. Who doubteth, but his room is the greater who hath charge of the household? Why so? For it standeth most with reason, because order is sometime changed by relation. And that which in one relation is supreme and chief, in another or in a contrary relation, hath

sometime an inferior place, and oftentimes the lowest place of all. And so God the Son, is equal with the Father, after his divinity; but he is less than the Father, after his humanity.

Also God the Son, in that he is God, is in the beginning, and is the beginning itself: but in that he is the Son of God, he is the second person in number: albeit without all consideration of time, he is without beginning as God the Father is. But to seek examples out of inferior matters: do we not see all one man to use divers offices at home, like arithmetical figures; now to occupy the first and chief room, then the second, afterward the third, and sometime a lower room, as the cause, wherein he is occupied, and place, where company meeteth do require; do we not see him, that sitteth highest among judges, and for that cause, is called the Chief Judge; when he is required to be present in extraordinary judgments, as it is often seen, placed after others in the third or fourth room. But in divine offices, I pray you, how great a supremacy as I may call it, hath the chaplain over his master, as long as he is in divine ministration? And yet when he is out of the place and cast off his gear, he leaveth his supremacy behind him. And it is no marvel. For in this case, the master standeth so, that whoso mindeth to retain the name of the chief person, and chief office still, must not swerve from the thing whereunto the name was applied and set. Therefore to return unto examples. Admit there were a famous chief physician, that is to say, were as cunning in physic as any man; and so because the matter so requireth it, he keepeth still his preeminence, yea Sir, but while he meddleth with physic. But forasmuch as there is another manner of office in the administration of the common weal, let him be content also with his second form, and strive not to bear rule over other, because he is the chief physician, neither let him take authority upon him to be a commander of the rest of the physicians, which is not given him in his preeminence; not because he could not give it

him, who so preferred him, but because it was not his pleasure to give it him, for it was no reason why he should; or else which is the sorest thing to speak of all, why he did not; marry Sir, because he made him not absolutely chief, but he called him the chief physician.

Admit also a curious cunning painter, to be chief painter, let him strive also to continue still in his chief paintership, lest another pass him in cunning, and so have the name of chief painter from him, because he is more worthy than he. Let the University of Paris rejoice not so much of the honour of the name, as to study to make it good, that is attributed by the name. Finally let this schoolmaster, who is called to teach children, because the good man of the house thought not the person of the man, but the virtue hidden under the person, worthy the honour of chief schoolmaster; remember, and remember again, that he is not honoured but burthened with the name. And let him study rather according to the intent of the name, to shew himself chief in the office of teaching, than to abuse the vain title of a name, and as though he were chief, absolutely without condition; yet neglecting his office, and so losing his supremacy, to contend and strive about the name and term of it with them, that as being set in authority to govern the household, have the true and absolute supremacy indeed: and to mingle God's matters and the world's matters together, so that he may overcome, by right or by wrong, and have it as him lusteth. As for his function and office he taketh no more thought for, but is wholly bent in that;* as it appeareth now for a great while, that the Bishops of Rome have done, who not regarding those things, that were added unto Peter's supremacy; and accomplishing the name of supremacy being annexed unto some certain points of office,

* And as you do yet, except it be with the poison of popish heresies, good men have not alway that rule.

as they accomplish all things; they have propounded the bare name unto the world, that they might be taken for chief, yea, and chiefer than the chiefest; not remembering in the mean time, how in all other matters, they are inferior to the lowest that is.*

Here I do not compare the faults of the men, with the condition of the cause, wherein I might have very large matter to speak; I know they are not always good men, that bear the sway, and yet the naughtiness of the man doth not hinder his authority. I know this also, that we have all sinned, and need the grace of God. But as concerning that which is annexed unto the cause, cannot be kept in silence, lest any man cast this saying of Paul in my dish, that in the same I preach to others, I myself be found to blame. For how great lack I find in myself in mine own office doing, mine own conscience knoweth. But who is it, that shall be found a faithful steward, as Paul saith? Who also in the same place speaketh further: Judge not before the time come. Therefore will not I wade in this matter, any broader nor further than cause requireth: that is, as modestly as I can, with that truth, to refel† him that calleth himself chief untruly; and to wish him this at least, if nothing else, that he may be chief in those titles wherein he ought to be chief; and wherein Peter was, by whom he claimeth the supremacy to himself, as by succession.

Wherefore let him now excel others, in confessing Christ, and let him so far be worthily taken for chief among all men, even by the law of God: which if Boniface had perceived, he need not to have gotten that, by privilege of Phocas the Emperor, as it had been by begging; which by the assistance of God's grace, he might have won to himself, by himself. More-

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* That is as true as the gospel, for you are as bad as needeth to be—for so you have amended the matter gaily, since that time.

† Refellam. Refel.—Bayley.

over let the Bishop of Rome be chief, in teaching and preaching Christ afore other, and so long let him have the supremacy of that kind office. But what a folly were it, when many are running in a race, that some one should win by his ambitious importunity much favor of the lookers on; where he, being appointed indeed to run among others, when he is now either made lame through his own fault, or otherwise unmeet to run; yet shall be reported, that he overrun them all, and came first of all to the goal; whereas saving that he came out in apparel made to run withal, he sitteth him down among the lookers on. As for any other consideration of his requests, he allegeth none, but that he was born and bred of them (on God's name) who in times past were the best runners, and were therefore called the chief.

A goodly reason forsooth, and worthy of him, that is joyous of name, and false titles, and contenteth himself, to be flattered above measure. But like as a sure friend, if he had any, would not only wish him better mind, but also would turn him if he might, by right admonition, from that foolish desire of privilege; and tell him, what a very folly it is, for a man, to have a mind to be named, and called that in words, which he is not in very deed. Even so would I also wish unto the Bishops of Rome, whom it is manifest, have been in like sort affected; (I will not overshoot my words) and yet still at this present (as I hear) surcease not their old cankered mind; that they were counselled of somebody not to contend to be called supremes, as long as they are still postreme: but if their delight were to be so called, they should see, by what things that title was gotten, and by what things, it was properly attributed.

For like as in a well-ordered city, those that are chief in riches, are not therefore chief in authority; even so in Christ's Church, they are not put in authority above other, that exceed other in pomp, lordly estate, and riches. And therefore if the supremacy of the Church of Rome in times past, with great con-

sent of the world, stood in the office of preaching God's word;* if in advancing the cure and charge of Christ's name, if in prompt valiantness of mind, to defend the truth, and to keep the faith of Christ from heresies; as it is most plain that in those days it did, when the Bishops of Rome (yea almost none but they) at the first beginning of the spring of the Church, were diligent to heal the fury of tyrants, raging against christian people; I ween there is never a christian prince in the world, but if he saw the Bishops of Rome contend about that supremacy faithfully, that they might godly and zealously pass all other bishops (that the Church of Christ, wheresoever it is scattered hath) in godliness, in faith, and religious devotion; and would strive to go so far before, that in this case they might be worthily called the first. If the princes, I say, might see this in them, they would, with good will, call them by those true names, that they saw with their eyes; and him that they spied to be first, they would call chief, in that match game: and in that kind of supremacy, they would reverence him with due honour, according to his virtue.

And with this opinion, it seemeth our elders were induced, (which opinion also endured unto our time) that they would give the Bishops of Rome wages, for their pains, who called themselves the servants of God's servants, not only in name, as they do now, but in truth and in deed in those days.† Howbeit the name of a servant, signifieth a service. For a servant commanded not his labours to be set out, but he setteth them a-sale, as it were in an open place, to provoke somebody to hire him. Wherein notwithstanding, some make such a shew of their labours, in commending their diligence and fidelity, and make them so sale-keen; that they cause many to be desirous of them, and

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* Now he bringeth heresies, and so do you with your pestilent masses, and other such.

† Look how hypocrisy can beguile men of simple wits.

bring them in that mind, that when their business might both better and more speedily be dispatched at home; yet they think nothing can be comely or well done without their counsel. And forasmuch as we see that daily chances in sundry kinds of craftsmen, and in every trifling matter; it is no marvel, though it be so in religion, wherein all men wish, that all things were ordered, according to the most perfect example; wherein for all that, many men partly distrust their own wits, partly use corrupt wits, in that they esteem strange ware more than domestical stuff. No man ought, I say, to think it any marvel, though the glorious name of the Church of Rome, being at that time famous in excellent virtue, drawing and alluring almost all the parts of the world, into admiration of it, for virtue's sake, which is the most sure bond; knit all men to it, and caused that Church, whom all men might see notably virtuous; to be reverenced, as the chief and principal Church among other. And godly men beautified it also with those names, which the Romish bishops make boast of to the world, as though they were set forth by oracle from God, to the supremacy withal; not the supremacy of virtue, but the supremacy of power, and that earthly, an external and fleshly power; such a one as Christ never exercised, nor committed it at any time to any man to exercise, as far as we may gather out of the Holy Scriptures.

Whereout notwithstanding, seeing some men have picked out some things, wherewith they would confirm it, to be commanded and ordained of Christ; whereunto the people and the princes, would even of their own voluntary will, because of their great virtue, wherewith they were allured; as it had been men drawn up with a loadstone; would have granted them, that is, that they would not only honour and reverence that Church of Rome, and the Bishop thereof; but also advance them with those titles, which godly affection is wont to devise and utter, wherein good men do some time err: yet forasmuch as

because many men have set forth many books touching this matter, and by reason of mutual conflict of men reasoning with it and against it, it is more than manifest, that those places of Scripture are wrested from their true and proper meaning; to defend that authority, I thought it not meet, to do that is done already, and in making rehearsal of them, to make men think, I had given them a pig of another man's sow. Wherein nevertheless, lest I should seem to cast away all men's writings, I do not so much contend about the supremacy, so they rack it out no further, than it appeareth to be meant from the beginning.

But this I utterly deny, that God ordained the Bishop of Rome to be the chief, as touching any absolute worldly power; of this is the question, in this point the whole cause consisteth. In this matter, I ween, I have made it plain enough, that Christ's deeds stand on our side, and that the name of supremacy, usurped of our elders, maketh nothing against us; and that the title, having a right interpretation joined unto the power, which the Bishop of Rome claimeth now to himself, maketh nothing for his purpose; and moreover that the prerogatives which God gave unto Peter, crowning his own gifts in him, help the Bishop of Rome's cause nothing at all; which prerogatives, were not given unto flesh and blood, but to be a testimony of that excellent profession of his faith.

And such would God (whose liberal goodness doth never waste) give yet still, unto these Bishops of Rome, if they followed the example of Peter's faith.*

But if the Bishops of Rome go about, to keep in state still, and hold up the decays of their power (whose building was naught, and therefore hath wried on the one side long ago) with props and stays, devised by man's brain; rather than

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* You are a good son, for teaching your father so good a lesson, as neither of you taketh heed to.

let it shrink down to that state, that the truth were able well to defend and bear out, I can imagine nothing more dangerous for them.

Only let them consider,* that at length truth hath the victory, and that the light of the Gospel is now come, in place of darkness; and that the light reproacheth the things that are not allowable. All men see, what these words of the Gospel mean.—*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.*† Men perceive the mysteries, both of Christ's three times asking of Peter, of Peter's thrice denying, and of the paying of tribute money for him. It is understood at this present, what it is, to be the chief of the apostles; and what it is to feed the sheep, whom God giveth charge of; this gear almost every body hath in their mouths.‡ Yea, some cry out, that they have been juggled withal and deceived. And (as their nature and disposition is) some speak less, and more temperately than others; and some there be also, who, perceiving they have been so long, falsely beguiled, as much as they can refrain, say never a word for shame.

Well, all sorts of people are agreed upon this point, with most stedfast consent, learned and unlearned, both men and women, that no manner of person, born and brought up in England, hath ought to do with Rome. All manner of people, receiving and embracing the truth, do, with one whole consent, acknowledge, honour, and reverence the king, for the supreme Head of the Church upon earth. They bid the Bishop of Rome farewell; whose labour, howsoever it hath been received in times past, even so now as unprofitable and discommodious,

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* It were best for you to take this counsel also.

† Matt. xvi.

‡ The light of the Gospel came in, when the Bishop of Rome was driven out.

they have no more devotion to it; as a thing, wherein a man should have no devotion, but to turn such a chaplain, out of the doors, will he, nill he; as being hired or prayed,* to minister divine service, hath not shewed himself faithful and diligent, in his office, unto them, that he should have looked to have received his wages of, for his pains taken. For a man had rather have a faithful servant to minister indeed, in whose name, the true token of doing, which is the right use of calling, may appear; than instead of a servant to have one, that taketh upon him, to be lord of lords, in his doings, though in the mean space, he calleth himself servant of servants.

And yet all men, for christian charity's sake, pray for him and wish him well,† among whom, I am one especially: that Paul that now is, may so excel his predecessors, in St. Paul's gifts; that, like as St. Paul hath comprehended all the mysteries of our religion, in one only epistle to the Romans; so this Paul may now write from Rome, to them that be under his obedience, such things as tend to the true glory of Christ, and concern the advancement of faith; rather than such ware, as hath crept into the world, these years past, from those high potentates and store houses. To be short, God send him good life, and well to fare in the Lord.

But I will return to my purpose: that is, that I may move all men to obedience, which only in the commandments of God, and for God's sake, maketh us happy and blessed. And the commandments of God, are clear, and lighten our eyes, that we stumble not in darkness: they are righteous, they are honest, they are also not only profitable always, to the life both of soul and body, but also necessary, and not sore nor hard to be observed; for they have a respect unto the yoke, that they

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* Conductus aut rogatus.

† The same we would pray for you, but that your obstinate wilfulness maketh us afraid to pray for you.

detain and keep still in labour, yea but with a sweetness; they are a burthen, but yet a light one. For it cometh to pass, by the grace of God, which is made by Jesus Christ, that things impossible unto the flesh, are accomplished by the spirit with cheerfulness; by love that is poured in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost, which is given us; and seeing we are now renewed in the spirit of our mind, and become spiritual, we may say with St. Paul, *We are able to do all things in him that strengtheneth us,* that is to say, Christ.

There is no cause then to make us afraid, of the weighty importance of the thing, which through the benefit of Christ, by means of his most precious and most glorious death, is made most easy to them; who acknowledging their weakness of flesh, commit themselves wholly to God's trust, through obedience, with a sure confidence in God. Let us therefore make us ready, to obey God in his precepts, which, as they be not hard, so they are not many in number. He that loveth his neighbour (saith Paul) hath fulfilled the law: what can be spoken more briefly, or knit up in less room? And because this word (love) hath an interpretation, we must needs afore all things, follow that interpretation, which is set forth in the Scriptures, by him that made the law and published it.

Let us then follow the order, that God hath prescribed, and not go about with our interpretation, to confound and pervert the members of his body, the Church, which he hath set in order and disposed in particulars accordingly; that one in the congregation should teach, and another have the preeminence, which is appointed to princes; and forsaking and neglecting those things, which either men's wisdom or subtle brain hath invented, let us follow the truth itself: let us obey it; let us do after it, which only maketh true obedience.

And here I could have made an end of my tale, had not some folks' foolish words* been, that had almost pulled me

* Look how good counsel that traitor giveth, and yet will neither follow it himself nor suffer other.

down backward and enforced me to render account of myself; what caused me to be so hardy, as to write one word concerning any manner of obedience, viz. true obedience, seeing I nevertheless, enterprising to teach obedience, disclose mine own disobedience; and give the onset against his power and authority, for whose defence I was called once to be a patron, and bound by mine oath to defend and maintain his authority, to my possible power? Where is the keeping of oaths become? say they. Where is fidelity? What may a man believe now-a-days? Whom may a man trust? For he was made a Bishop, and by the privilege of the Bishop of Rome, admitted to the Order of Bishops, and consecrated by his commandment; and sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, to defend the rights of the Church of Rome: all which things he willingly, and with all his heart obeyed, and promised to perform. So, say they, even the very self same man, to the most horrible example of breach of his fidelity, and forgetting the solemn oath he made; or if not through forgetfulness, yet, (which is the worse of the two) having contemned and defied his oath and fidelity, he professeth himself an open enemy of the Church of Rome. And to shoot his poisoned shafts, the more surely against it, he borroweth a piece of artillery as it were of obedience, and thinketh he lieth closely in covert, as though his sides were over-hilled; when for all that, he lieth open and naked, to all men's sights, both like a fool and a naughty man.

Such men as will talk on this sort, I am afraid and in great doubt how I shall satisfy them. For they will allege perhaps, to amend the matter withal, a certain prejudice of soul, I wot not what; wherewith their mind being blown full, they will spew out that that I shall speak, even as it were a vessel being top full of water, that receiveth no more liquor, when it is poured upon. But they that shall hear these men's talk, and then on the other side will indifferently read my saying, with an empty and free mind, and not already brink full: I doubt not, but I shall

shew unto them, and persuade them so, that their words as weighty as men think them, (indeed they accuse me of perjury and slander,) condemn them for false reporters, that speak them; and that they ought no more to move me, against whom they be reported, than the blombling* sound of an old barrel, as they say.

For in oaths or promises, the form ought not so much to be respected, as the matter. But let a man say, swear or promise, as faithfully as he can, that thing that he ought not to do nor perform, the promise shall not be above the nature of the matter itself; neither shall that form in these cases, change the condition of the matter, but the faithfully made oath, if it be stark naught or not good, is better broken, than under pretence of the oath, as though it were the bond of wickedness, it should be performed and kept.† Unless we must be persuaded, that constancy is commendable in naughty and preverse matters, and that it is a greater fault to turn again in the midway, than still to run always naught. And for the more clear demonstration of this matter, I take this to be the most fit example. A certain married man, when he thought by most just likelihoods, that his first wife had been undoubtedly dead: as a man that had been free from marriage, by the authority of the Church, took to wife another woman, who was a fair damsel, and thought to be a maid, by consent of her parents. By whom, after they had dwelt a few years together, and he had children by her; Lo, his former wife unlooked for, came again, as it were peeping behind the post. Well, she requireth to have her husband again, that had done evil, in marrying another woman. Then the man being astonied at that, as a matter almost incredible, was driven at the first to deny her to be his wife; then to ask

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* E dolio reddita tonitrua.

† Unlawful oaths not to be kept. How should foolish or unlawful vows be bound to be kept, when such oaths are not?

her what tokens she could tell him, and last of all, because he was wonderous loath to be divorced from her, that he had married the later, to make as long delays as he could; and at length to call her to the law, and there to make all the shift he could, to defend his second wife's cause. But when he was cast, he gave place to the truth, and taketh his first wife to him again, by the judgment of the Church.

In this case now, if the woman, that he married last, be justly put from him; or for sorrow and heaviness speaking never a word, her parents or friends would cry: out upon men's manners! out upon it, what a world is this? And after this sort would make such a like wonderment, as these men seem to use against me,—thou hell-hound, thou wicked covenant-breaker, doest thou forsake and cast off this woman now, unto whom thou madest once so faithful a promise, in the open face of the Church, when God himself was a present witness? Hast thou forgot the words which thou spakest in the temple, the minister of God rehearsing them unto thee, in the presence of so many people; this woman, that thou hast now shamefully cast off, being present, making covenant and promise to thee, in like sort again? And didst not thou once desire us for her, and madest much entreaty to have her to thy wife, and promisedest us upon thy oath, that thou wouldest use her, as the good wife of thy house for ever, and never to forsake her during thy life? Art thou not ashamed, seeing thou hast such children by her, to cast her off now, as though she were a whore? And now when thou leavest her to take her part, that caused thee to be divorced from her? Where is the keeping of oaths become? Where is fidelity? What may a man believe now-a-days? Whom may a man trust? The husband forsaketh the wife. Which manner of communication, as it may be borne withal in the woman's heaviness, both for the great grief of her present calamity, and because she is the weaker vessel; even so when it is spoken of other men's mouths, which would have folks to

think, they speak pithily, it would make men think, they were stark fools, and in open company, every body would laugh at them, and in trial of law, no man could abide them.

But after a certain space, if a man would answer the woman and say; Woman, you do not well to accuse him, that you want now to be your husband, and defender, for what fault find you now in him? For as long as the former wife held her away, he loved you, he honoured you, he used you as his wife: yea so much, that when the first wife came again, whom he thought had been dead, he was not rash in giving credence unto her, nor suddenly assented unto her: he could do no more for your sake, than he did. If he had fallen to whores, and so forsaken you, your quarrel had been somewhat. But now, what cast you him in the teeth, with faith breaking, who to keep his faith, departed from you, and kept him to that other wife, that he had lawfully married before? Why do you complain still? The woman, I ween, would give over: indeed she had no cause to complain. If she had not been a maiden, as she was taken for, but an evil disposed woman, and had occasioned this man's wife, to be sent into some far lands, to have this man to her husband in the mean time, and caused the first marriage to be broken; whether should be thought to be more in the fault? This man that married* (as he thought) rightly, were in no fault; and the subtle woman were in that greatest fault, as one that delighteth to have another woman's husband. And if a man would consider this gear, shall he not see, as it were in a glass, the very image of that husband in me.

For indeed I, seeing I believed that no such truth of obedience,† had been, or if it had been sought for, I would never have found it; coupled myself in second covenant, and thereto plighted my troth, with whom I thought I had lawfully dwelt,

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* Say you true, do you love change of women as he did?

† So methinketh you forget it now again.

and kept lawful company withal. But when the truth came, which is every man's first wife, married to him in baptism, which will require the first promise at all men's hands; to her I applied, to her I cleaved: and from my second knot, as of no effect by judgment of my church, I departed. And shall any man think it indifferent that I shall be called a liar because I obey the truth,* because I serve God, in obeying my prince,† that I shall be reported to be a contemner of the sacraments, or an oath breaker? And that, that is fondly laid to the husband's charge, after he is divorced, because he performed not his promise, that he ought not to have made; shall that in this cause, be grievously and earnestly trumped in my way, because I am, by most grave judgment of the truth, divorced from the Church of Rome, which it was not lawful for me to keep still; and am compelled to take my wife *truth* to me, when she cometh again at length, peeping behind the screen, and to cleave constantly unto her?

If he could teach me, that she is not the truth, whom, I have received for my wife, claiming again my first promise (as he shall never do it) let him call me by what names he will. But if he will let that pass, and make ado about the other, it is to be feared, lest all men will begin to abhor that subtlety, which is grounded in making of oaths against the truth. Therefore take away the other from the cause, for the other ought to be a servant of truth, and cannot nor ought not to be prejudicial unto the truth. He that by his oath promiseth unlawful things, doth not right; but he that maketh an unlawful oath, and goeth on still to put it in execution, thrusteth down himself deeper and deeper; from whence

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* I pray you lose it not, now it is found to your hand.

† And so do married priests go from their second knot and follow the judgment of God's word, whereby his Church is governed, which saith, "To avoid fornication let every man have his own wife." Hearken to your own reason, my Lord Doctor Double-face.

he can never escape, except he come out backward. Wherefore it were too great an absurdity, that a man should be counted to do a notorious crime, and to dishonour and shame himself in that point, wherein he goeth about to do better.*

And according to this consideration, it is decreed by the civil laws, that a man is by no means bounden to perform dishonest or unlawful promises; lest it might be thought that these laws, do rather commend perseverance in crimes than repentance. And in the ecclesiastical decrees, it is also established, that no man is bound to perform an unlawful oath, seeing an oath cannot bind a man to wickedness.

This only remaineth, that when these men, who accuse me of perjury, are driven back, that they can lay no more perjury to my charge; they will go about to burthen me with unadvised temerity, for promising by mine oath, that was not lawful for me to perform.† Well Sir, but I thought it had been lawful, and not I alone, but with the judgment of many men. For the word of truth lying then buried a long season, was thought to be no let. But now when she is come home again, and hath confirmed herself unto me by so many proofs that it is even she, why should I not embrace my own true wife, even dame truth herself; unto whom I plighted my troth, and in the accomplishment of the same, there is none offence, much less any notorious crime?‡

Well, there is no cause, why I should be afraid, of other folks' evil reports, as long as I do my duty to her alone; and

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* They are less hurtful than you, for they only speak evil; but you both say evil and do worse.

† Methinketh you should be ashamed to speak against priest's marriage, if this reason be true, as it is indeed, that ye make here.

‡ Then a man may make an unadvised vow, after twenty-one years, being unlearned; seeing you a mischievous well learned man, made an unadvised oath of your age.

according to her mind, obey my prince, the supreme head on earth of the Church of England; and then do mine endeavour to accomplish the other parts of true obedience, which belong properly to a christian man, so as when I have passed over the pilgrimage of this life, in obedience and truth, I may obtain eternal life; the author and giver whereof, is Jesus Christ, who, to draw all unto the Father, obeying the Father in all things, suffered death for our salvation; and both in word and deed taught obedience, which forasmuch, as it is full of truth, shall at length promote, all that faithfully stick unto it, to the very truth self, which is God blessed for evermore.—Amen.

A fair tale, a good tale, God quite you for your tale; very well said, well obeyed, as that is spoken in ale.

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NOTE (S.) P. 164.

LET not the reader hastily conclude this and similar expressions, to be exaggerations of the martyrologist:—Many instances of heroic fortitude, almost amounting to a culpable ambition of martyrdom, are to be found in the records of the Primitive Church—thus Polycarp to the Roman Proconsul, "Thou threatenest me with a fire which burneth for a season, and will be speedily extinguished; but thou art ignorant of that fire of a future judgment, and everlasting pains, reserved for the wicked. *But why lingerest thou? Bring forth whatever to thee seemeth good.*"—*Lord Hailes, Rem. Christ. Antiq. vol.* i. 14. So also Justin Martyr—"It was our *chief wish* to endure tortures for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. Whatsoever thou doest, do quickly; for we are christians, and we sacrifice not unto idols."

"And when the eyes of all men were turned towards them, they, not having been seized by any, with one accord ran

forward to the bar, and professed themselves to be christians. Then were the governor and his counsellors afraid; so that while *they* who were about to receive condemnation, appeared dauntless, their judges trembled, and therefore men went forth from the judgment hall, exulting in their testimony; and through them God obtained a glorious triumph."—And again, when the proconsul read the sentence, "It is ordered, that Cyprian be beheaded, the venerable bishop exclaimed, Thanks be to God! and all the brethren cried out with one voice, *Let us die with Cyprian.*"—*Lord Hailes, vol.* ii. 7. 21. 33. "These young men, having first bound their hands, in token of their eager desires after martyrdom, ran with all speed, and presented themselves before Urbans the governor, just as he was entering the Amphitheatre, and openly professed themselves to be christians. They shewed that they were purposed to endure every thing dreadful, and that the being exposed to wild beasts was no terror to those who worship THE GOD OVER ALL.—*Lord Hailes, vol.* iii. 13.

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NOTE (T.) P. 171.

This quotation shews that Bradford was well versed in the appropriate literature of the day; and it would be well if modern divines were better qualified than they are, for the most part, to discuss subjects of theology with the Romish priests, especially that the Latin Language was more vernacular to them. Bradford refers in this place to the famous Abbot of Clairvaux's five books of Considerations, addressed to Pope Eugenius III., and the quotation is found in the following connection.

*Non tam episcopis, quam principibus judiciariam potestatem compatere.*

AUDI tamen apostolum, quid de hujusmodi sentiat. *Sic*

*non est inter vos sapiens,* ait ille, *qui judicet inter fratrem et fratrem?* Et infert: *Ad ignominiam vobis dico: contemptibiliores qui sunt in Ecclesia, illos constituite ad judicandum.* Itaque secundum apostolum, indigne tibi usurpas tu apostolicus officium vile, gradum contemptibilium. Unde et dicebat episcopus, episcopum instruens: *Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis sæcularibus.* Ego autem parco tibi. Non enim fortia loquor, sed possibilia. Putasne hæc tempora sustinerent, si hominibus litigantibus pro terrena hæreditate, et flagitantibus abs te judicium, voce Domini tui responderes: O homines, quis me constituit judicem super vos? In quale tu judicium mox venires? Quid dicit homo rusticanus et imperitus, ignorans primatum suum, inhonorans summam et præcelsam sedem, derogans apostolicæ dignitati? Et tamen non monstrabunt, puto, qui hoc dicerent, ubi aliquando quispiam apostolorum judex sederit hominum, aut divisor terminorum, aut distributor terrarum. Stetisse denique lego apostolos judicandos, sedisse judicantes non lego. Erit illud, non fuit. Itane imminutor est dignitatis servus, si non vultes se major domino suo: aut discipulus, si non vult esse major eo qui se misit: aut filius, si non transgreditur terminos, quos posuerunt patres sui? *Quis me constituit judicem?* ait ille Dominus et magister: et erit injuria servo discipuloque, nisi judicet universos? Mihi tamen non videtur bonus æstimator rerum, qui indignum putat apostolis seu apostolicis viris non judicare de talibus, quibus datum est judicium in majora. Quidni contemnant judicare de terrenis possessiunculis hominum, qui in cœlestibus et angelos judicabunt? Ergo in criminibus, non in possessionibus potestas vestra: quoniam propter illa, et non propter has, accepistis claves regni cœlorum, prævaricatores utique exclusuri, non possessores. *Ut sciatis,* ait, *quia filius hominis habet potestatem in terra dimittendi peccata, etc.* Quænam tibi major videtur

et dignitas, et potestas, dimittendi peccata, an prædia dividendi? Sed non est comparatio. Habent hæc infima et terrena judices suos, reges et principes terræ. Quid fines alienos invaditis? Quid falcem vestram in alienam messem extenditis? Non quia indigni vos, sed quia indignum vobis talibus insistere, quippe potioribus occupatis. Denique ubi necessitas exigit, audi quid censeat apostolus: *Si enim in vobis judicabitur hic mundus, indigni estis, qui de minimis judicetis.*—*St. Bernard de Consid. lib.* i. *c.* vi. —*Works, vol.* i. 412. *Mabillon, Paris,* 1690.

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NOTE (U.) P. 172.*

29 Januarii, 1554, in Ecclesia Parochiali Sanctæ Salvatoris nuncupata Saynte Mary Overey, in Burgo de Southwark.

ium Do- Stepha- Vinton. copi ra Jo. lford.

EISDEM die, horæ, et loco productus fuit coram Domino Johannes Bradford, laicus, etc. Cui post exhortationem per Dominum factum, ut se reconciliaret et ad unitatem sanctæ ecclesiæ et catholicæ fidei rediret, dictus Dominus Episcopus quia videbat eundem Bradford pertinaciter in sententia persistentem objecit articulem sequentem, videlicet. Quod ipse Johannes Bradford, tam infra diocesim suam Wintoniæ, quam aliis, quam plurimis locis hujus regni, asseruit, dixit, prædicavit, et publicavit, et defendebat, sicque in præsenti asserit, dicit, credit et defendit; Quod in Eucharistia, sive altaris sacramento, verum et naturale Christi corpus, ac verus et naturalis Christi sanguis, sub speciebus panis et vini vere non est. Et quod ibi est materialis panis et materiale vinum tantum, absque veritate et præsentia corporis

* MS. Harl. Mus. Brit. No. 421. Fol. 42.

et sanguinis Christi. Cui articulo ipse Bradford respondendo dixit, That Christ is present in the sacrament when the sacrament is duly ministered. And that Christ is present in the sacrament by faith, to faith, and in faith and none otherwise. And saith that Christ is not in the sacrament by transubstantiation. And saith that simply he believeth no transubstantiation. Also that it is not the body of Christ but to him that receiveth it. And that an evil man doth not receive it in forma panis. And that after and before the receipt there is the substance of bread. Cui dictis perversis assertionibus inherenti, Dominus assignavit ad comparendum crastina die in hoc loco inter horas viii et x ante meridiem, ad videndum ulteriorem processum fieri.

30 Januarii.

umDo- contra ford.

Eisdem die et loco comparuit personaliter dictus Johannes Bradford. Qui licet fuerit per Dominum Episcopum multis argumentis et rationibus suasus et exhortatus ut se reconciliaret et rediret ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ unitatem, Episcopus tamen pertinaci ac indurato animo persistat nec valuit ullis rationibus flecti aut persuaderi. Et ideo Dominus Episcopus visa ejus pertinaci induritia tulit etiam contra eum condemnationis sententiam definitivam pronuntiando eum obstinato hæretico et excommunicato. Et insequenter tradidit eum sæculari manui, videlicet, dictis Vicecomitibus, etc. Præsentibus de quibus in prioribus hujus diei actis habetur mentio.

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NOTE (v.) P. 184.*

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SENTENTIA CONTRA JOHANNEM BRADFORD.

IN DEI NOMINE, AMEN, Nos Stephanus, permissione divina, Wintoniensis Episcopus, judicialiter et pro tribunali se-

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* MS. Harl. Mus. Brit. No 421. Fol. 46.—Lansdown MSS. Mus. Brit. No. 980. p. 186.

dentes. In quodam hereticæ pravitatis negotio contra te Johannem Bradfordæ, laicum, coram nobis in judicio personaliter comparentem; et nobis super hæretica pravitate detectum, denunciatum, et delatum, ac in ea parte apud bonos et graves notorie et publice diffamatum, rite et legitime procedentes. Auditis, visis, intellectis, rimatis, et matura deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negotii meritis et circumstantiis. Servatisque in omnibus, et per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis ac quomodo libet requisitis Christi nomine invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes. Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confessata, et per te sæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, asserta, et confirmata, comperimus et invenimus te, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas judiciales, coram nobis judicialiter factas, errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones subscriptas juri divino, ac catholicæ, universalis, et apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi obviantes contrarias, et repugnantes tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, prædicasse, et dogmatizasse, videlicet. Quas quidem errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones juri divino, ac catholicæ, universalis, et apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi obviantes contrarias et repugnantes, coram nobis tam in judicio quam extra animo obstinato, pertinaci, et indurato, arroganter, pertinaciter, scienter, et obstinate, asseruisti, tenuisti, affirmasti, dixisti, pariter et defendisti, atque te sic credere, asserere, tenere, affirmare, et dicere velle paribus obstinatia, malitia, et cordis cæcitate, etiam prudens et sciens affirmasti. Idcirco nos Stephanus, Wintoniensis Episcopus, ordinarius et diocesanus antedictus, tam de venerabilium confratrum nostrorum Episcoporum præsentium et nobis assidentium consensu et assensu expressis quam etiam de et cum consilio et judicio jurisperitorum et sacrarum literarum professorum, cum quibus communicavimus in hac parte. TE Johannem Bradford de meritis, culpis, obstinatis et contumaciis, per improbas et sceleratas tuas obstinatias et pertinacias multipliciter contractis, incursis, et

aggravatis in detestabili horrendo et impio hæreticæ pravitatis reatu et execrabili dogmate comprehensum fuisse et esse, atque hujusmodi scelerata et impia dogmata coram nobis sæpe dixisse, asseruisse atque scienter voluntarie et pertinaciter defendisse, et manutenuisse per varias tuas confessiones, assertiones et recognitiones tuas judiciales, sæpe coram nobis repetitas ita asseruisse, affirmasse, et credidisse, declaramus et pronuntiamus, teque in hac parte rite et legitime confessum fuisse et esse decernimus. Ideoque te Johannem Bradford antedictum, hujusmodi tuos errores, hæreses, ac impias et damnatas opiniones, refutare, retractare, recantare, et abjurare, in forma ecclesiæ approbata nolentem, sed obstinate et pertinaciter, dictis tuis sceleratis hæresibus, et execratis opinionibus inherentem, et ad unitatem sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ redire nolentem premissorum occasione causa, et pretextu hæreticum obstinatum et pertinacem fuisse et esse cum animi dolore et cordis amaritudine etiam declaramus, pronuntiamus, et decernimus. Teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem exnunc judicio sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putridum, a corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum, et tradendum fore decernimus et declaramus, atque de facto relinquimus et tradimus teque Johannem Bradford, hæreticum, obstinatum et pertinacem hujusmodi, majoris excommunicationis sententia premissorum occasione, innodatum et involutum eaque ligatum fuisse et esse sententialiter et diffinitive declaramus per hanc nostram sententiam finalem quam in et contra te dolenter ferimus et promulgamus in hiis scriptis.

Lecta lata et promulgata fuit hæc sententia in Ecclesia parochiali Beatæ Mariæ Overy, alias nuncupata Sancti Salvatoris in Burgo de Southwark, Wintoniæ Diocesi, die Mercurii, tricesimo die Januarii, Anno Domini juxta cursum Ecclesiæ Anglorum, 1554, præsentibus testibus de quibus in actis illius diei fit mentio.

NOTE (W.) P. 184.

BRADFORD sent copies of his three examinations to Bishop Ridley, at Oxford, who returned him his thanks, and opinion of his conduct throughout, in the following letter, which is one of the remaining letters omitted by Dr. Wordsworth in his Life of Ridley.

## TO MASTER BRADFORD.*

DEARLY beloved Brother Bradford, I had thought of late that I had written† unto you, by our dear brother Austin, your last farewell, until we should have met in the kingdom of heaven; and I sent it to meet you in Lancashire, whither, it was said here, you were appointed to be sent to suffer. But now, since they have changed their purpose, and prolonged your death, I understand it is no other thing, than what once happened to Peter and Paul. The which, although they were of the first who were cast into prison, and as little shewed peril as any other did; yet God would not have them put to death with the first, because he had more service to be done by their ministry, which his gracious pleasure was they should do; so without doubt, dear Brother, I am persuaded, that the same is the cause of the delay of your martyrdom.

Blessed be the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for your threefold confession. I have read all three with great comfort and joy, and thanksgiving unto God, for his manifold gifts of grace, wherewith it is manifest to the godly reader, that God did assist you mightily. And blessed be God, again and again, who gave you so good a mind and remembrance of your oath, once made against the Bishop of Rome; lest you should be partaker of the common perjury which all men, almost, are now fallen into, in bringing in

* Cov. 65. † See Appendix, Note (Y)

again that wicked usurped power of his. Which oath was made according to the prophet, in judgment, in righteousness, and in truth, and therefore cannot without perjury be revoked; let satan roar and rage, and practise all the cruelty he can.

Oh, good Lord, that they are so busy with you about the Church. It is no new thing, Brother, that is happened unto you; *for that was always the clamour of the wicked bishops and priests against God's true prophets; the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord;** and they said the law shall not depart from the priest, nor wisdom from the elder; and yet in them, whom alone they esteemed for their priests and sages, there was neither God's law, nor godly wisdom.

It is a marvellous thing to hear what vain communication is spread abroad of you; it is said here that you be pardoned your life, and when you were appointed to be banished, and to go I cannot tell whither, you should say that you had rather suffer here, than go where you could not live after your conscience; and that this pardon was begged for you by Bourne, the Bishop of Bath, for that you saved his life. Again, some say, and amongst others, mine host reported, that you are highly promoted, and are a great man with my Lord Chancellor. This I could not believe, but did deny it as a false lie; so surely was I always persuaded of your constancy.

What God will do with us, he knoweth. In the mean time, wonderful it is to behold how the wisdom of God hath infatuated the policy of the world, and scattered the crafty devices of the worldly-wise. For when the state of religion was once altered, and persecution began to wax hot, no man

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* Just so now there are who cry, "The Church is in danger! The Church is in danger!" whereas the real Church of Christ, is in actual danger, from no quarter so much as from those who raise this senseless cry.

doubted but Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, should have been the first to have been called to the stake. But the subtle policy of the world, setting us apart, first assaulted them, by whose infirmity they thought to have more advantage; but God disappointed their subtle purpose. For whom the world esteemed weakest, praised be God, they have found most strong, sound, and valiant in Christ's cause, unto the death; to give such an overset, as I dare say all the angels in heaven do no less rejoice to behold in them, than they did in the victorious constancy of Peter, Paul, Isaiah, Elijah, or Jeremiah; for greater love no man hath, than to bestow his life, &c.

Good Brother, have me and us all continually in your remembrance to God in your prayers, as, God willing, we shall not be in our prayers forgetful of you.

Your own in Christ,

N. R.

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NOTE (X.) P. 185.

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WITHIN twelve months after passing sentence on Bradford, viz. on the 13th of November, 1555, was Gardiner, the chief murderer, summoned into the presence of that judge, who searcheth the hearts and trieth the reins of men. "Nov. 13, Dr. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor of England, and one of Queen Mary's prime privy counsellors, died in the morning between twelve and one of the clock, at the King's palace called Whitehall, at Westminster. And by three of the clock he was brought by water to his own place by St. Mary Overy's; and by five of the clock his bowels were taken out, and burned before the high altar; and at six the knell began there, and a dirge and mass; and all the bells continued ringing till seven at night. On the 14th day they began the knell

again for him. There was then a hearse of four branches, with gilt candlesticks, and two white branches, and three dozen of staff-torches. All the choir hung with black and arms, and a dirge sung; and the morrow-mass of *requiem* sung by Bonner, Bishop of London, the Bishops, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen present. And Dr. Whyte, the Bishop of Lincoln, did preach at the same mass. After the ceremonies were over, they all repaired to the place to dinner. The same day in the afternoon, was dirge sung in every parish in London, and a hearse, and ringing, and the morrow-mass of requiem. And so he was prayed for after the old fashion."—*Strype Eccl. Mem.* iii. *pt.* 1. 362.

"Dr. Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, in the midst of all his splendour, secure in the favour of the Pope and his royal mistress; and having in view a cardinal's hat and legatine power from the one, and the throne of Canterbury from the other, triumphed over the weakness of the two martyrs at Oxford, for whose death he was impatient. His dignity and employment would not permit him to be a spectator, and enjoy the sight; but what he could he did; he dispatched messengers on purpose to Oxford to be present at their execution, and to speed back to give him the earliest intelligence when the fire was set to them. And though the Duke of Norfolk was his guest that day, he would not go to dinner till the return of the messenger had given him the satisfaction he so hungered after. At four o'clock the wretch was made happy, and went to dinner; *he was not disappointed of his lust, but while the meat was yet in his mouth, the heavy wrath of God came upon him.* He was seized with a suppression of urine, and though he went five days after to the Parliament, which met October 21st, and again on the 23d, he could go out no more. A foul leprosy and dropsy increased upon him, contracted (as was reported) by drunkenness or whoredom, in both which vices he had indulged much in his life, so that his body

was greatly distended, his eyes distorted, and his breath too offensive to be endured. He felt all the bitter remorse of conscience, without being able to mingle with it that salutary sorrow which can alone make it supportable. "I have erred," says he, "with Peter, but I have not wept with him." The Bishop of Chichester visiting him, would have comforted him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ; Gardiner acknowledged the truth in private, and thereby assented to the reformers, but desired him politically to suppress it, saying, "He might speak of that to him or others in his condition, but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell altogether. He suffered this protracted execution for four weeks. At that time he spake little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and inexpressible torments. He was called to his account that very day month that Ridley and Latimer suffered, at two o'clock in the morning, November 13. Compare the lives of Ridley and Gardiner together, and compare their deaths; whose character was most amiable, whose conduct was most prudent, whose condition most eligible? Let us cultivate those truths in our hearts and lives, which had such supernatural power as to administer comfort, in the midst of burning flames. What afflictions are there in this world, that a practical belief in those truths will not enable us to bear up under? Let us not think that those errors can be even politically useful, or in this present world prudent, which can give no ease upon beds of down, amidst the pomp of power and affluence of wealth. What a blessing did these martyrs recover to their country, when they restored to it the knowledge of these primitive truths! What a glorious legacy did they bequeath to it, when at their deaths, *they lit up such a candle in England, as by God's grace shall never be put out.*"—*Words. Eccl. Biog. vol.* iii. 415. —*Strype Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* 1. 465

Amongst other women, Gardiner kept one Mrs. Godsalve. His Church and College of Winchester were scandalous for lechery.—*Ib. p.* 173.

Gardiner's bodily sufferings, during his final struggle with mortality, seem to have been intense; but his mental anguish was infinitely more severe. The spirit passing from a virtuous life, spent amidst few temptations, may reasonably feel anxious at the prospect of a speedy reckoning with infinite purity and intelligence. Gardiner's earthly course had, however, abounded with temptations, and he certainly had yielded to them with a facility, far from satisfactory to a vigorous intellect, hovering upon the verge of eternity. The well-founded indignation of his protestant contemporaries has probably exaggerated his moral obliquities; but worldliness like Gardiner's is seldom unsullied by private vices, and therefore in charging him with licentiousness, it is likely that his political enemies have done him no injustice. In public life he certainly trifled lamentably with his responsibility as a christian. Men who rise like him from obscurity to splendour, not uncommonly have aided their advancement by devices far from strictly conscientious. But Gardiner was considerably versed in the questions which agitated his time; he had examined the papal pretensions, to which every thing Romish mainly looks for support, and he had found them utterly untenable. He had also studied the doctrines of the reformers sufficiently to know, that they rest upon grounds far from easy to overthrow. That he should have lent himself, therefore, to the sanguinary persecution which raged during the last ten months of his life, could hardly fail of strewing gall and wormwood along his passage to the tomb. Those who marked the conflict of his soul endeavoured vainly, as it almost seemed, to allay its bitterness by the healing balm of religious consolation."—*Soames' Hist. Reform. vol.* iv. 477—479.

Here lye the bones of busy Gardiner dead,
That in five yeares spoil'd more good laws and lore,
Than two great kings, with all the witts they bred,
Could stablish sure in forty yeares before:
The Queen beguil'd, the Lords like lymehounds led,
The usurping rule of Rome he did restore;
Burne, head, and hang, imprison, vex, and spoile
The worthie sort of this declyning soile.

*Sir John Harrington, apud Todd's Defence of Cranmer. p.* xciv.

If any one thing could paint the ferocious principles, by which the papists of this æra were actuated, more than another, it would be found in the fact related by Peter Heylin, a writer notorious for his partiality to them; who informs us that Mary herself admitted of a consultation for *burning the body of her father, and cutting off the head of her sister.—Eccles. Restaur. p.* 139. *apud Nicolson's English Hist. Library, p.* 98 —*Strype, Eccl. Mem.* ii. 65.

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NOTE (Y.) P. 185.

When Bishop Ridley, who was then in confinement at Oxford, heard of Bradford's intended removal into Lancashire, he wrote him the letter referred to in the note (w.), and which is also given by Dr. Wordsworth, *vol.* iii. 368.

'Oh dear brother, seeing the time is now come wherein it pleaseth the Heavenly Father for Christ our Saviour his sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling. Well, good servant and faithful, because thou hast been trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

'Oh dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world

may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plentifully poured abroad among his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom. Where the martyrs, for Christ's sake, shed their blood and lost their lives, Oh what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine? If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place; brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and shalt be with thy ashes, in Christ's cause, sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that ever it brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause, of whom he had received it.

'Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our Heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home; and then good brother speak you, and pray for the remnant that are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

'We do look now every day, when we shall be called on, blessed be God. I ween I am the weakest many ways of our company: and yet I thank our Lord God, and Heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth, even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) so rejoiced of it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother, *blessed be God in thee,* and *blessed be the time that ever I knew thee.*

'Farewell, farewell, your brother in Christ,

'N. R.

'Brother farewell.' *

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* Cov. 68, and see Note (M.)

NOTE (z.) P. 191.

"AFTER his condemnation he was baited and worried great part of the time, by some or other of the bishops, and their chaplains or priests, and others whom they set upon him; in hopes, all under the vizor of friendship and compassion, to worm out some confessions or other, of such erroneous tenets, as might give some colour to the world for their barbarity towards him. But he was invincible to them all; steady as a rock, repelling the stormy waves that invade it, and exposing their insolidity, by turning them into froth. His sagacity in discerning their snares, and his readiness in repelling their arguments from the Scriptures, the fathers, and themselves, were such, upon those politic and rational topics, of the *Pope's authority* here, and the *real* or *carnal presence* in the Sacrament, for the denial of which he was condemned; that his most clamorous antagonists were struck with silence, and departed with admiration."—*Biog. Brit. vol.* ii. 551.

NOTE (AA.) P. 216.

"AFTER his condemnation, he wrote a very passionate, (earnest) letter to the University of Cambridge, wherein he upbraided them for their falling off so lamentably from the profession of the gospel, and bad them repent, and remember those excellent men they had lately had amongst them.—Such was the then apostate condition of this University, once earnest receivers of the doctrine of the Gospel; and these were some of the compassionate solicitations and warnings of this man of God."—*Strype Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* 1. 366. And what, it may be asked, would be his feelings, and those of the other holy martyrs and confessors who laboured at Oxford and at Cambridge; if they could now visit these seats of academical

learning? Would they address the heads of houses, dignitaries, and other churchmen in language less affecting? Would they have less or more reason to fear, that the judgments of God were rapidly coming amongst them? Whom do the vast majority of those churchmen now resemble most—the fattened and indolent Romish hierarchists of that day, or the holy men of God who came out from amongst them? Most melancholy is it that our bishops object to ordain any man who has not been nurtured at one of these universities; whilst no truly pious parent, ever sends a child within their unhallowed influence, without trembling lest he should come home again a finished profligate.—*See also, Epistola Cantabrigiensis cujusdam anonymi de misero Ecclesiæ statu: circa anno* 1520. *Fascicul. Rer. vol.* ii. 637.

NOTE (BB.) P. 223.

THE remarks intended to have been made here, have been included in NOTES W. and Y.

NOTE (CC.) P. 263.

THE papists profess to be very indignant at being termed idolaters, notwithstanding their repeated denial of the imputation; and Mr. D. O'Connell in a late parliamentary speech* was even pathetic upon the subject. Some of their protestant friends too, think it highly unjustifiable that after such denials, the charge should be repeated. All this is but affectation on the one hand, and a morbid feeling on the other. No true protestant takes any pleasure in vilifying the papist; but would

* See the Times Journal of Aug. 31, 1831.

rather mourn over his errors and deeply deplore the depth of his delusion—but we dare not cry, peace, peace, when there is no peace. It is astonishing that the papists and their advocates, do not see the fallacy of such complaints, or imagine that well informed minds can be imposed upon by them. The protestant charges the papist with being an idolater; and in order to establish the charge, produces a series of well authenticated facts and practices for centuries, down to the present moment. The papist does not controvert any one of these facts, because he knows he cannot; but contenting himself with simply denying the charge, affects to consider himself exceedingly ill treated, if his opponent does not give him implicit credit, in the teeth of the evidence of his own senses. Now, is this reasonable? Is it a mode of proceeding that would be resorted to in any other case? or, could men of talent be so hoodwinked upon any other subject? Let the papists disprove the facts brought against them, and then we will believe they are not idolaters; but whilst these facts remain, as they are at present, wholly uncontradicted, they must submit to be esteemed as idolaters, by all well informed and right judging persons.—*See Ventess's Letter of Congratulation to the House of Lords.—Appendix,* NOTES (C. D. E. T.) Dr. Fletcher, in his Sermons, (*vol.* i. *p.* 146.) assumes, that "Innovation in faith is impossible in the Catholic Church." Mr. Butler, in his Formularies, (*p.* 9. 11.) informs us, that every catholic who is admitted into the Catholic Church, publicly reads and professes his assent to the Symbol of Pius IV. which contains the following article:—"I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and the Mother of God, ever Virgin, and also of the other Saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration are to be given to them." We therefore presume we are at liberty to deem the above an article of faith among papists. We presume also to believe that this was not an article of faith, and that the practice itself was not permitted

during the three first centuries, (*Bower*, ii. 526. iii. 357.); and therefore that Fletcher's assertion is incorrect. We also take the liberty to believe, that the "due honour and veneration" which is actually bestowed upon images and pictures, amounts to idolatry; and that such idolatry bears a strong affinity to that practised by heathen nations.—*Ignotus, p.* 30. 41.—*Milner's C. H.* iii. *p.* 146. 188.—*Morning Exercises against Popery, p.* 458.—*Salter's Hall Sermons, vol.* i. *Dr. Hughes.* The Latin word used by the Fathers of the Council of Trent, (Sess. 25.) is *veneremur*, and is usually translated by protestants as intending worship, but by modern papists, veneration. The Fathers also connect it with *osculemur;* and we believe, whenever these words are united by classical writers, divine worship is necessarily implied.—*Canons and Decrees of Trent,* 1564.—*Cic. in Verr.* ix. 43.—*See also some excellent remarks upon this subject in the Christian Observer, for August,* 1831, *p.* 497.

NOTE (DD.) P. 263.

HUGH WESTON was successively Dean of Westminster and of Windsor, and prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, which met on the accession of Queen Mary; and was sent by them to Oxford, as moderator in the disputation with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

"Cranmer had trusted to him confidentially a letter to the Lords of the Council, which he took charge of when he returned to London; but on his journey he was base enough to open it; and careless of shame, as he had been also in the disputation, returned it to the Archbishop."—*Todd's Life of Cranmer,* ii. 400. "He was deprived of his deanery on the 10th of December, 1557, by Cardinal Pole, on account of his

scandalous life in adultery, and other enormities," with which these pages may not be stained.—*Strype Eccl. Mem.* i. 174. ii. 22.

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NOTE (EE.) P. 295.

" BUT the papists will then say, that if we condemn the papacy, we shall condemn our forefathers, as heretics. I will answer to that, as God answered Elijah, when he said to the Lord, that the children of Israel had forsaken his covenant, and were unjust and wicked, *Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed to Baal.* Neither must we imagine, but that there have been many christians in the world, some of whom have spoken openly against the papacy, and others who have kept their knowledge and sentiments to themselves; but the papists will not suffer us to know more than our fathers. But I know very well, that our religion *consists not of old customs*, or the usage of our fathers, *but in the Holy Scriptures, and Divine Word.* And THAT, if you think antiquity and custom makes a thing good, is older than the world; for God is the Word, who was without beginning, and shall continue without end; and if you think truth ought to be followed and obeyed, ALL TRUTH is contained in that book. Our religion ought not to be planned or governed by our forefathers; for Ezekiel saith, *Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, for they were polluted.* Moreover, our God, and Saviour, and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, said, *I am the way, and the truth, and the life;* he did not say, I AM THE OLD CUSTOM!—*K. Edward VI.'s own Arguments against the Pope's Supremacy, p.* 65. *London,* 1682.

NOTE (FF.) P. 310.

"AMONG the numerous throng of people who were spectators at his execution, there was that memorable woman, Mrs. Mary Honeywood, the wife of Robert Honeywood, Esq., of Charing, in Kent, and daughter of Robert Waters, Esq., of Lenham, in the same county. This lady, in the days of Queen Mary, was wont to visit the prisons, and relieve the confessors there confined. When Bradford was at the stake, she being desirous of getting near it, that she might distinctly hear him, and see the end of his sufferings; was so crowded and pressed by the multitude, that her shoes were trodden off, and she was forced to go barefoot from Smithfield to St. Martin's, before she could furnish herself with a new pair. She lived a most pious life; and in a christian manner died at Markeshall in Essex, May 11, 1620, in the 93d year of her age, leaving behind her at her decease, three hundred and sixty-seven persons, descended from her and her husband; viz. sixteen children, one hundred and fourteen grandchildren, two hundred and twenty-eight great grandchildren, and nine great great grandchildren. See the inscription on her monument in Markeshall Church. Her mind being greatly perplexed with religious doubts, she consulted both with our martyr, who wrote her the letters, Nos. 40., 41., 42., and 43., and the venerable martyrologist, Fox, after Bradford's decease."—*Biog. Brit.* ii. 555.

NOTE (GG.) P. 313.

"IT is a demonstration to me that he was of a sweet temper, because Persons, the jesuit, who will hardly afford a good word to a protestant, saith, That he seemed to be of a more soft and mild nature, than many of his fellows. Indeed, continues

Fuller, He was a most holy and mortified man; who secretly in his closet, would so weep for his sins, one would have thought he would never have smiled again; and then appearing in public, he would be so harmlessly pleasant, one would think he had never wept before."—*Fuller's Worthies.* "He was one of whose worth the papists themselves were so sensible, that they took more pains to bring him off from the profession of religion, than any other."—*Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* i. 364.

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NOTE (HH.) P. 313.

"Whilst he was in prison he spent his time in preaching twice every Sunday; in writing many letters and discourses; praying, reading, conferring, disputing; sleeping but four hours in the night."—*Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol.* iii. *pt.* i. 364.

"He used to make unto himself an ephemeris, or journal, in which he used to write all such notable things, as either he did see, or hear, each day that passed. But whatsoever he did hear or see, he did so pen it, that a man might see in that, the signs of his smitten heart. For if he did see or hear any good in any man, by that sight he found and noted the want thereof in himself; and added a prayer craving mercy and grace to amend. If he did hear or see any misery he noted it, as a thing procured by his own sins; and still added, Domine, miserere mei: Lord have mercy upon me. He used in the same book, to note such evil thoughts as did rise in him: as of envying the good of other men; thoughts of unthankfulness; of not considering God in his works; of hardness and unsensibleness of heart when he did see others moved and afflicted. And thus he made *to himself*, and *of himself*, a book of daily practices of repentance."—*Sampson's Preface to Life and Sermons, p.* 11.

NOTE (I. I.) P. 343.

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In what estimation Bradford was held by his brethren, may be collected from the following letter of Careless to him, and which was written in reply to No. 99.

## TO MY GOOD BROTHER, M. JOHN BRADFORD.*

The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comfort of his sweet Spirit, which hath surely sealed you unto eternal salvation, be with you and strengthen you in your joyful journey, towards the celestial Jerusalem, my dear friend and most faithful Brother, M. Bradford, to the setting forth of God's glory, and to your eternal joy in Christ. Amen.

Ever since that good M. Philpot shewed me your last letter, my dear heart in the Lord, I have continued in great heaviness and perplexity: not for any hurt or discommodity that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom, doubtless, death is made life and great felicity; but for the great loss that God's Church here in England shall sustain, by the taking away of so godly, worthy, and necessary an instrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. Oh, that my life, and a thousand such wretched lives more, might go for yours. Oh, why doth God suffer me and such other caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but consume the alms of the Church, and take away you, so worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? But woe be to our sins and great unthankfulness, which is the greatest cause of the taking away of such worthy instruments of God, as should set forth his glory, and instruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God for the good ministers of his word, we had not been so soon deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and sins, and give us

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* Fox iii. 717. Cov. 628.

true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Christ's sake. Take not away all thy true preachers forth of this realm, O Lord, but leave us a seed, lest England be made like unto Sodom and Gomorrah, when thy true Lots be gone.

But what go I about to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your just joy with my deserved sorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I should surely rejoice with you most heartily, and praise God on your behalf from the very bottom of my heart; I should praise God day and night for your excellent election, in and through his great mercy, and should give him most humble thanks for your vocation by his gospel, and your true knowledge in the same: I should earnestly praise him for your sweet justification, whereof you are most certain by God's Grace and Spirit, and should instantly pray unto him, for your glorification which shall shortly ensue: I should rejoice and be glad to see you so dignified by the crown of martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to testify his truth, and to seal it with your blood: I should highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over all your enemies visible and invisible, and hath given you grace and strength, to finish the tower that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I should most heartily rejoice and be glad to see you delivered from this body of sin, and vile prison of the flesh; and brought into that heavenly tabernacle, where you shall be safely kept, and never offend him more. This and much more should I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child. But, alas, I am an hypocrite, and do seek nothing but mine own commodity. I would have God's everlasting providence give place, to my peevish will and purpose, although it were to the hinderance of his glory, and your sweet commodity.

God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, sins and offences against him, and, good brother, do you forgive me my great negligence and unthankfulness towards you; and henceforth I

promise you, I will put my will to God's will, and pray that the same may be fulfilled in you, so long as you be on this earth: and when you are taken hence, I will most heartily praise the Lord for you, so long as I have my being in this world.

Ah, my dear heart, now I must take my leave of you, and as I think, my *ultimum vale* in this life; but in the life to come, I am right well assured we shall merrily meet together, and that shortly I trust. And in taking my leave of you, my dear heart in the Lord, I shall desire you faithfully to remember, all the sweet messages that the Lord our good God, and most dear loving Father, hath sent you by me his most unworthy servant, which as they are most true, so shall they be most truly accomplished upon you eternally; and for the more assurance and certificate thereof, to your godly conscience, he hath commanded me to repeat the same unto you again, in his own name and word.

Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Hearken, O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, and bear me witness at the great day; that I do here deliver faithfully and truly the Lord's message, unto his dear servant, his singularly beloved and elect child, John Bradford. JOHN BRADFORD, thou man so specially beloved of God, I pronounce and testify unto thee, in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy sins whatsoever they be, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great, be fully and freely pardoned, released and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, thine only Lord and sweet Saviour, in whom thou dost undoubtedly believe. Christ hath cleansed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteousness, and hath made thee in the sight of God his Father, without spot or wrinkle, so that when the fire doth its appointed office, you shall be received, as a sweet burnt sacrifice, into heaven; where you shall joyfully remain in God's presence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlasting kingdom, unto the which thou wast undoubtedly predestinate and ordained by the

Lord's infallible purpose and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is most true that I have said, I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and eternal Majesty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to my record at this present; whom I humbly beseech to confirm and establish in thee the true and lively feeling of the same, Amen. *Selah.*

Now with a merry heart and a joyful spirit, something mixed with lawful tears, I take my farewell of you, mine own dear brother in the Lord; who send us shortly a merry meeting in his kingdom, that we may both sing praises together unto him and his holy angels and blessed spirits for ever and ever. Farewell, thou blessed of the Lord, farewell in Christ; depart unto thy rest in the Lord, and pray for me, for God's sake.

As I had made an end of this simple letter, I heard some comfort both of good Master Philpott's servant and yours: but alas, I do scarcely believe them. Well I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will send me some comfort to-morrow, and if the Lord give you sparing to-morrow, let me hear words of comfort from you for God's sake.

The blessing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen.

Yours for ever in the Lord Jesus, JOHN CARELESS, living in hope against hope, JOHN CARELESS.

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NOTE (KK.) P. 347.

*MAKE him! Make whom?* JESUS CHRIST, that is, GOD! The priest-ridden and ill-informed papist will cry out, calumny!—and the pious, over-liberal, and not much better informed protestant, will hardly refrain from re-echoing the charge—and both will unite in declaring, either that the martyr has here brought an unfounded charge against the papists of that day, or that at all events, no modern disciple of the Vatican,

holds any such horrible opinions. But Bradford and the reformers of the sixteenth century were too conscientious to make unfounded charges, and too well informed to be imposed upon, by the specious and never-ending manœuvres of their antagonists. The books which contained their unblushing abominations, were then in the hands of the reformers, who having only just emancipated themselves from their thraldom, were as well acquainted with them as the papists themselves; and the works in question were then more accessible than they now are, to ordinary readers.

But was the charge false or true? IT WAS TRUE. It might be sufficient to allege, that the truth of the charge is inevitably involved in the doctrine of the real presence—for do not the papists believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ? and do they not maintain, that the very body and blood of Jesus Christ exists in the sacrament, after consecration by the priest? Si quis negaverit, in sanctissimæ eucharistiæ sacramento contineri vere, realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem unâ cum anima et *divinitate* Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ac proinde *totum Christum;* sed dixerit tantummodo esse in eo ut in signo, vel figura, aut virtute; anathema sit.—*Concil. Trid. Sess.* xiii. *cap.* 8. *can.* i. As the real presence therefore takes place only after consecration, it follows that the priest who consecrates, creates that which remains after consecration; and if that which was bread and wine before consecration, becomes the body and blood of Christ, who is God, by the act of consecration, then the priest creates God. In other words, the vile and sinful creature, and God only knows how vile and sinful that creature often is, creates the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords!

But still the artful or ignorant papist, and the horror-struck protestant will exclaim—Mortal man can never seriously intend to assert such blasphemy as this. Let us read the following canon, enjoining the celibacy of the priesthood, in which the above idea is by no means indistinctly hinted at.—"Decer-

nimus etiam ut ii, qui in ordine subdiaconatus, et supra, uxores duxerint, aut concubinas habuerint, officio atque ecclesiastico, beneficia caveant. *Cum enim ipsi Templum Dei, vasa Domini, sacrarium spiritus sancti debeat esse et dici, indignum est eos cubilibus et immunditiis deservire.*"—2 *Lateran* cvi. *Labbe* xxvii. 124. But what will the opponents say, if we shew not only that the sentiment has distinctly proceeded from, but that such sentiment has been actually expressed and declared, in the most objectionable form of words, by the boasted centre of unity itself!—"Nimis execrabile videri manus quæ in tantam eminentiam excreverint, ut, quod nulli Angelorum concessum est, DEUM cuncta creantem suo ministerio *creent*, et eundem ipsum pro redemptione et salute totius mundi summi Dei Patris obtutibus offerant, in hanc ignominiam detrudi, ut ancillæ fiant earum manuum quæ die ac nocte obscœnis contagiis inquinantur rapinis ac injustæ sanguinum effusioni addictæ commaculantur."—*Urban* ii. (nicknamed Turbanus.) *Eadmeri Opera, Histor. Novor. lib.* ii. 55., *appended to Gabriel Gerberon's Edition, of the Works of St. Anselm. Paris*, 1675.

Our martyr therefore made no false charge—and we would therefore solemnly and seriously appeal to every conscientious and well intentioned papist, whether this is not blasphemy in the abstract? And whether it does not *per se*, justify the application to their own hierarchy, of all the horrible denunciations in the Apocalypse? Solemnly, and seriously, and affectionately, would we entreat him, to think what must be the inevitable doom, of every one who identifies himself with such horrible associations, and to listen to the voice from heaven itself, in the words of his own Bible—'Exite de illa, populus meus; ut ne participes sitis delictorum ejus, et de plagis ejus non accipiatis. Quoniam pervenerunt peccata ejus usque ad cœlum, et recordatus est dominus iniquitatum ejus.—*Apocal.* xviii. 4. 5. *apud vulg.*

NOTE (LL.) P. 353.

ON this very important subject, becoming indeed every day more and more important, in the times in which we live, the Nos. 34. 74. 79. 87. and 100. may be read with advantage.

"Many now therefore, partly out of fear and terror, and partly out of other considerations, resorted to the mass, though they approved not of it; and yet consorted likewise with the gospellers; holding it not unlawful so to do, viz.—'That their bodies might be there, as long as their spirits did not consent.' And those who used this practice, bore out themselves by certain arguments, which they scattered abroad.

"This extraordinarily troubled the good divines, who were then in prison for the cause of Christ, and particularly Bradford, whose complaint upon this subject, we have seen in the letters above referred to.

"He also counselled the true protestants not to consort with these compliers, but to deal with them as a certain eminent man, named Simeon, Archbishop of Seleucia, did with Ustazades, an ancient courtier to Sapones, King of Persia; who by his threatenings and persecutions, had prevailed with the courtier, who had embraced christianity, to bow his knee to the sun. For which base compliance, Simeon, passing by where this Ustazades was, formerly his great friend and acquaintance, would not now look at him; but seemed to contemn and despise him. Which when the other perceived, it pierced him so to the heart, that he began to pull asunder his clothes, and to rend his garments, and with weeping eyes cried out, Alas! that ever he had so offended God in his body, to bow to the sun; for, saith he, I have herein denied God, although I did it against my will. And how sore is God displeased with me, when mine old father and friend Simeon, his dear servant, will not speak nor look towards me? I may, by the servant's countenance, perceive the Master's mind.

"This lamentation came to the King's ear; whereupon Ustazades was sent for, and his sovereign demanded the cause of his mourning. He out of hand told the cause to be his willing bowing to the sun. By it, said he, I have denied God, and therefore, because he will deny them who deny him, I have no little cause to complain and to mourn. Woe unto me, for I have played the traitor to Christ, and also dissembled with my liege Lord. No death therefore is sufficient for the least of my faults; and I am worthy of two deaths.

When the King heard this, it went to his stomach; for he loved Ustazades, who had been to him, and to his father, a faithful servant and officer. Howbeit, the malice of satan moved him to cause this man to be put to death. Yet in this point he seemed to gratify him; for Ustazades desired that the cause of his death might be published. This I ask, said he, for the guerdon of my time service to thee, and to thy father. Which the King readily granted, thinking that when the christians should all know it, it would make them the more afraid, and sooner to consent to him. But so soon as it was published, and Ustazades put to death, it not only comforted Simeon, who had been put into prison, but also all the christians!"

Bradford, having related this anecdote, improved it after this tenour. This history, I wish, said he, were marked, as well of us, as of all our popish gospellers, who have none other things to excuse them,* than Ustazades had; for his heart was with God, howsoever he framed his body. We should behave ourselves straitly against such brethren, as Simeon did; and then they would so much the sooner play the part of Ustazades. Which thing, no marvel, though they do not, so long as we rock them asleep, by regarding them and their companions, as daily we do; and so we partake of their

* Many now-a-days have not half so much.

evil; and at the length shall feel of their smart and punishment."—*Strype's Cran. vol.* i. 521—523.

Few protestants, and probably no great number of papists amongst the laity, are acquainted with the dreadful, but inevitable consequences of the doctrine of the mass; and therefore are incapable of rightly appreciating the sin of attending its celebration. The Holy Spirit hath said, "Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno: nec dabit *sanctum tuum* videre *corruptionem.*"—*Ps.* xv. 10. *Acts* ii. 27. xiii. 35. But what says the infallible Church, "Docemus etiam ut sacerdos semper habeat præparatam (prout opus fuerit) eucharistiam, et hanc in puritate custodiat, caveatque *ne inveterescat.* Sin diutius reservata fuerit quam oportuit, et ut *nauseam* pariat; comburetur tunc in puro igne, condanturque cineres sub altari et noxæ reus apud Deum componat."—*Can. of Edgar, Spelm.* i. 452. We know who it was that advised Balak, the son of Zippor, to seduce the Israelites into idolatry, through the medium of the Moabitish women,* and we know too what was the fate of the adviser.† And the papists have made no small accession to their own community, by following the advice of the son of Beor. Through the medium of marriages with papists, wretchedness, and sin, and misery, have been introduced into many protestant families. Upon this subject we earnestly recommend the perusal of Dr. Torriano's letters to his son; (*London* 1753) a work not more distinguished by sound reasoning, than by classical and elegant diction; and the Fourth Pastoral Letter of the *incomparable* Peter Jurieu, or as the papists called him, the GOLIATH OF THE PROTESTANTS. See also a most affecting account of the sufferings of a protestant lady, Octavia Solara, from the same cause, in Gilly's Second Visit to the Valleys, *p.* 349.

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* Num. xxxi. 16. † Num. xxxi. 8. Josh. xiii. 22.

NOTE (MM.) P. 353.

THIS individual, as appears from this and the preceding letter, had during his shrievalty been detected and accused by certain malignant adversaries of sending a New Testament to a condemned thief.* For this he was sent for to London and committed to the fleet, and there endured a sufficient time, not without great peril of life. Although delivered out of prison, following the counsel of Bradford, and minding to keep his conscience clear from idolatry, he was driven with his wife and eight young children, to avoid the realm; and so leaving all other worldly prospects, to his great loss and danger, went into High Germany, where he continued in the city of Basil, till the death of Queen Mary; being like a good Tobias, to his power, a friendly helper, and a comfortable reliever of other English exiles there about him. God's holy blessing so working with him therefore, that in those far countries, neither he fell into any great decay, neither any one of all his household, during all that time there miscarried; but as many as he brought out, so many he carried home again, yea, and that with advantage, and God's plenty withal upon him.—*Acts and Mon.* iii. 340.

NOTE (NN.) P. 366.

AUGUSTINE BERNHER was a native of Switzerland, and a servant of some description to Bishop Latimer, and a faithful minister in the reign of Edward VI. He conveyed his master's sermons to the press, and published them after his death with a preface of his own.—*Biog. Brit.* ii. 228.

* Strype Eccl. Mem. iii. 1. 227.

In Queen Mary's time he was excellently serviceable to the poor prisoners and martyrs, travelling continually from place to place, and from one prison to another, with his life in his hand, and standing upon no pain or danger to do good offices for the poor professors—especially in secretly conveying to them the liberality of their pious benefactors, and letters from them to their friends and congregations, for the comforting, counselling, and strengthening of them.

And when Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were prisoners at Oxford, he took a journey thither to them with relief, letters, and business. As for the wives and fatherless children of such as died for religion, he was a kind of overseer to them.

Robert Glover, in his last letter to his wife and children, before his martyrdom, advised them to fly, and to take Bernher's advice,—'God send thee a good guide, and a good passage, if it be his will, out of this idolatrous and bloody realm. As Christ committed his mother to John, so I commit you in this world to the *angel of God,* Augustine Bernher. His advertisement, if you shall follow, I trust you shall not decline from the fear of God.'—*Cov.* 543.

It appears that during the heat of the persecution, and all through Mary's reign, he with four or five others, two of whom afterwards became bishops, acted as pastors of a congregation, and braved all dangers by meeting in London for religious worship. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he obtained a living in the country, at a place called Sutton, where he died in peace.—*Strype Eccl. Mem.* iii. i. 228. ii. 132—147. He was chiefly instrumental in saving the life of Bishop Jewell.—*Ib.* i. 227.

# ELENCHUS TRACTATUUM,

*QUI IN FASCICULO RERUM ETC., CONTINENTUR.**

1. Commentariorum Æneæ Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis, de actis et gestis in Concilio Basileæ celebrato, libri duo, in quibus sacrosanctam illam Synodum sic describit, sic quicquid illic actum, bona fide refert, ut qui legerit, interesse et infulatos illos heroas disputantes, colloquentes, conscionantesque coram videre se putet. Nec solum jucunda est historia, verum etiam utilis. Vixque aliud concilium extat, pari fide et diligentia conscriptum.

2. Ejusdem Æneæ Sylvii ad Johannem de Segovia Theologum Epistola; in qua enarratur quàm celebri pompa, apparatu, ac gloria Fœlix ipse Sabaudiæ dux et eremita, spreto Eugenio IV. in summum sit pontificem electus ac confirmatus.

3. Juliani Cardinalis sancti Angeli, viri præstantissimi et ad Germaniam Legati, Epistolæ duæ in quibus mira libertate scripsit ad Eugenium pontificem Ro. male conantem dissolvere Concilium Basileense, quum antea per Martinum V. in Concilio Constantiensi indictum esset.

4. Universitatis Parisiensis ad futurum Concilium contra Leonem X. Appellatio, in qua omnes fermè Ecclesiæ Rom. abusus referuntur, et Concilium Basileense sacrum fuisse probatur, et in Spiritu Sancto legitimè congregatum.

5. Orationes duæ, quarum altera à Legato Leonis X. pro colligendis decimis, altera à Germano quopiam, illas denegandis, coram divo Maximiliano Imperatore in conventu Principum habitæ.

6. Vita et gesta Hildebrandi. Qui Romanus Pontifex factus Gregorius VII. est dictus. In qua quidem historia, admiranda ac supra captum humanum obstupenda quædam reperies.

7. Appendix de eodem Hildebrando, desumpta ex libris historiarum Reverendi in Christo patris Othonis, Frisingensis Episcopi.

8. De Silvestro ejus nominis II. (cujus Benno Cardinalis mentionem facit) insigne factum, per Johannem Stellam Venetum in suo Pontificum Ro. catalogo commemoratur.

9. De Bonifacio VIII. ex Commentariis Petri Criniti de honesta disciplinâ doctissimè scribentis, insigne etiam facinus refertur.

10. Vita Henrici IV. Cæsaris Augusti, Ducis Bavariæ VII. in qua admiranda quædam lectuque digna ac rara admodum reperies.

11. Epistolæ IX. ejusdem Henrici IV. ad Pontificem Rom. ac alios Principes, in quibus non contemnenda (mihi crede) similiter offendes.

12. Leges ac Constitutiones Imperiales, à multis sæpenumero desideratæ, sub AUREA BULLA Caroli IV. Rom. Imperatoris.

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* See (p. lxii.)

13. Constantini Magni Donationis (ut fertur) privilegium, Bartholomeo Picerno ad Julium II. Pont. Rom. interprete.

14. Ulrichi Hutteni, in Declamationem Laurentii Vallæ, contra prætactam Constantini Donationem, ad Leonem X. diserta admodum et non indocta Præfatio.

15. Laurentii Vallensis, viri undecunque doctissimi, de falsò credita et conficta (ut multorum est opinio) Constantini Donatione, Declamatio.

16. Nicolai de Cusa, Cardinalis; Antonini, Archiepiscopi Florentini; Raphaelis Volaterrani; Hieronymi Cathalani, Juris utriusque Doctoris, Cubicularii Alexandri VI. de eadem Donatione annotationes.

17. O. G. in Lau. Vallam conclusio epistolaris, post quam, authore eodem, multiplices tam Canonistarum quàm Legisperitorum pro utraque parte in hoc campo decertantium, allegationes collocantur.

18. Item ex Pomponio Læto, Socrate Græco, Theodorico, Sozomeno, Baptista Egnatio, Sexto Aurelio Victore, per eundem Orth. G. receptæ de eadem materia additiones sunt adjectæ.

19. Professio fidei fratrum Waldensium Regi Uladislao ad Hungariam missa, quam ipsi falsò satisfactoriam appellant.

20. Responsio excusatoria fratrum Waldensium, contra binas literas R. P. Augustini, sacræ Theol. doctoris ad eundem Regem datas.

21. Gulihelmi Wodfordi contra Johannem Wiclefum, sacræ fidei pestem et hæresiarcham, doctissimæ ac planè catholicæ decertationes, quibus miserum hunc hominem ita confutat, prosternit, eviscerat ac in omnibus vincit, ut ex illis ipsis omnes fermè nostri temporis hæreticos mutos effeceris.

22. Articuli Johannis Wiclefi damnati per Concilium Constantiense, in quibus illum humanam bestiam fuisse cognosces.

23. Rationes ac reprobationes articulorum Wiclefi et sectatoris ejus Johannis Huss, in Concilio Constantiensi damnatorum.

24. Doctrina Johannis Wiclefi quonam modo in Bohemiam pervenerit, et de Johanne Huss, ac Hieronymo Pragensi, ex Ænea Sylvio.

25. Sententia damnationis doctrinæ Johannis Wiclefi et articulorum XLV. lata per sacrosanctam Synodum Constantiensem.

26. Sententia definitiva per prædictum Concilium contra Johannem Huss; In qua etiam per eundem fit mentio appellationis ad Christum.

27. Tenor sententiæ definitivæ contra Hieronymum Pragensem, quem velut palmitem putridum et aridum, non ferentem fructum, Ecclesia condemnavit.

28. Poggii Florentini, de Hieronymi Pragensis obitu et supplicio vera descriptio, in quâ obstupenda quædam videbis ac leges.

29. Leonardi Aretini Oratoris clarissimi adversus hypocritas libellus, cui Orth. G. Epistolam præjecit non invenustam.

30. Quomodo Bohemi vocati sint ad Basileensem synodum Oecumenicam, et quid illic egerint, cum oratione Juliani Cardinalis ad illorum Legatos.

31. Petitiones Bohemorum, propositæ in Basileensi Concilio, cum approbatis ac receptis ab Ecclesia responsionibus.

32. De Eugenii IV. practica, ut Concilium Basileense Rex Francorum dissolveret, ex Nicolao à Clamengiis Archidiacono.

33. Friderici, Romanorum Regis, semper Augusti, ad Carolum Franciæ Regem Epistola, in qua is ac cæteri Ecclesiæ proceres admonentur ut Moguntiam veniant, ibidemque de rebus dubiis consultent.

34. Synodus Aribonis Archiepiscopi Moguntini, in qua de jejuniis ac aliis ceremoniis fit decisio, habita Anno Domini, MXXIII.

35. Paradoxa D. Johannis Wesalien. concionatoris Wormaciensis per Inquisitores ordinis Prædicatorii Moguntiæ condemnata.

36. Examen sex dierum contra eundem, per eosdem Inquisitores. Cui Dieter Comes Isenbergen, Archiepiscopus Moguntinus interfuit.

37. Gravamina X. Germanicæ nationis ac sacri imperii Rom. cum remediis et præmonitionibus, ac multis aliis ad Cæsaream majestatem.

38. Epistola Ja. Regii ad divum Maximilianum, in qua non pauca de Reformatione Ecclesiæ tractantur, et abusus.

39. Divi Maximiliani querela contra abusus atque gravamina Romanistarum, cum sua ad calcem appendice.

40. Epistola Adriani Papæ VI. ad illustrissimos Germaniæ Principes, qua eos ad concordiam observandam hortatur.

41. Instructio ejusdem ad D. Franciscum Cheregatum, in qua continentur omnia quæ cunctis Rom. Imperii Principibus proponenda videbantur.

42. Responsio illustrissimorum ac reverendissimorum Principum, necon et aliorum sacri Romani imperii Ordinum, pontificio Legato reddita, in qua contra abusus admiranda quædam invenies.

43. Replicatio pontificii Oratoris ad Germ. Principes, in qua de Annatis, de Concilio generali, de concionatoribus, de clericis uxoratis et rebus aliis, multa ac varia tractantur, quibus principes ipsi respondere recusarunt.

44. Tabula centum Gravaminum, in qua summatim deprehendes quomodo Germania et reliquæ etiam nationes illis vexentur et excorientur.

45. Enumeratio centum gravaminum Germanicæ nationis, quæ adversus sedem Romanam Oratori pontificio, in comitiis Germanorum Principum Norenbergæ sunt exhibita, summo mittenda pontifici.

46. Apostoli per nationem Gallicanam dominis Cardinalibus dati contra Annatas, et quod Vacantiæ ac minuta servitia nullo jure sint debita, quodque censuræ propter Annatas non solutas timendæ non sint, etc.

47. Disputatio Nicolai de Clamengiis archidiaconi, habita per scriptum, super materiâ Concilii generalis ad Scholasticum Parisiensem.

48. Collatio ejusdem Clamengii super eadem materia largior ac uberior, in qua declaratur, an generale Concilium in aliquo errare possit, ubi etiam de bubone obstupenda quædam referuntur, per Orthuinum Gratium declarata.

49. De emendatione Ecclesiæ libellus per reverendissimum Dominum Petrum de Alliaco Cardinalem Cameracensem, patribus

olim oblatus in Concilio Constan. In quo sex ponuntur considerationes, quas quum diligenter perlegeris, admiranda in illis reperies.

50. De Reformatione Ecclesiæ, circa totum corpus universalis Ecclesiæ.

51. De reformatione capitis, status videlicet papalis et Romanæ curiæ ac Cardinalium, ex eodem.

52. De Reformatione prælatorum, ex eodem.

53. De Reformatione religionum ac religiosorum, per eundem.

54. De Reformatione cæterorum Ecclesiasticorum, per eundem.

55. De Reformatione Laicorum et Principum, per eundem.

56. Singulis decenniis generale Concilium esse celebrandum, require in epistola Orthuini Gratii.

57. Johannis Francisci Pici Mirandulæ domini, etc. ad Leonem decimum Pontificem maximum, de reformandis moribus, Oratio.

58. Duæ pestes, quibus Concilia generalia, quo minus fiant ac celebrentur, perperam impediuntur, in Epistola Orthuini Gratii.

59. Constitutiones ad removendos abusus et Ordinationes ad vitam cleri reformandam per reverendissimum in Christo patrem dominum Laurentium Campegium Cardinalem, et ad Germaniam, etc. de latere legatum, nuper Ratisponæ edit.

60. Oratio Antonii Cornelii Lynnichani elegantissima, Coloniæ coram frequenti Clero habita. Qua ostendit cujusmodi Eccles. Principes, Pontifices, primarii sacerdotes et pastores esse debeant.

61. Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, summi Oratoris virique doctissimi, liber de sarcienda Ecclesiæ concordia, deque sedandis opinionum dissidiis, cum aliis nonnullis lectu dignis.

62. Precatio ad Dominum Jesum pro pace communi et Ecclesiæ.

63. De tyrannide Principis Turcarum, et quanta Ottomannus ac successores ejus in perniciem omnium nostrum patraverint, in epistola Orthuini Gratii.

64. Epistola Johannis Fabri Doctoris, nunc Viennensis episcopi, ad præsulem Tridentinum, ac Serenissimi Regis nostri Romanorum Ferdinandi protocancellarium, de bello Turcis inferendo.

65. Oratio de origine, potentia ac tyrannide Turcarum, ad Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Henricum octavum Angliæ Regem, Londini, à R. episcopo Viennensi publicè habita. In qua supra omnem modum obstupenda quædam invenies ita etiam ut nunquam te illam legisse pœniteat.

66. Epistola Orthuini Gratii Daventr. ad lectorem ac bonos omnes, per modum perorationis, in qua non paucorum quæ hoc libro continentur, ratio assignatur, ut citra cujuscunque offensionem, ab omnibus legi possint, etc.

# ELENCHUS TRACTATUUM,

*QUI IN APPENDICE, (SIVE TOMO SECUNDO,) CONTINENTUR.*

1. Hildeberti Cenomanensis Episcopi, deinde Archiepiscopi Turonensis (qui floruit A. D. 1090) Epistola ad Comitem quendam illustrem, contra Peregrinationis vanitatem.

2. Epistola alia ejusdem ad Comitissam quæ Terram Sanctam invisere cupiebat.

3. Alia ad Honorium Papam contra Appellationes.

4. Ejusdem Sermo Synodicus ad Pastores super illud, S. Luc xii, cui multum datum est, ab eo multum quæretur.

5. Ejusdem descriptio Curiæ Romanæ.

6. Ejusdem Epitaphium in Berengarium, Magistrum suum.

ANTILOGIA PAPÆ hoc est, de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu, Scripta aliquot veterum authorum, viz.:

7. Matthiæ Parisiensis Præfatio in librum Scholæ Parisiensis, etc.

8. Scriptum Scholæ Parisiensis de periculis Ecclesiæ, compositum A. D. 1339.

9. Articuli Scholasticorum Parisiensium contra Monachos.

10. Articuli Johannis XXII. Papæ contra Monachos.

11. Sermones duo M. Wilhelmi de S. Amore.

12. Tractatus Marsilii de Paduâ de translatione Imperii.

13. Aureum speculum Papæ, ejus Curiæ, Prelatorum et aliorum Spiritualium, scriptum ferè ante 300 annos.

14. Jacobus de Paradiso Carthusiensis de Septem statibus Ecclesiæ in Apocalypsi descriptis; deque authoritate Ecclesiæ et ejus reformatione, A. D. 1449.

15. Gregorii Heymburgensis Appellatio prima pro parte Domini Sigismundi Ducis Austriæ.

16. Ejusdem Confutatio primatûs Papæ scripta ante 250 annos.

17. Pii Secundi Papæ Epistola qua Gregorius Heymbergensis denunciatur excommunicatus.

18. Gregorii Heymburg. Appellatio Secunda, à Papâ ad Concilium.

19. Hermanni Ryd. de Reen tractatus de vita et honestate Clericorum.

20. Homilia B. Volcuini Abbatis super Evangelium de semine et zizanio.

21. Hulderici, Episcopi Augustani, Epistola adversus constitutionem de cœlibatu Clericorum.

(Prodiit hæc Antilogia Basil. A. D. 1555).

22. Tractatulus contra cœlibatum Clericorum, ex MS. bibliothecæ Collegii Corp. Christi in Cantabrig.

23. Epistola expostulatoria Guilielmi Crashaw ad Severinum Binnium, de rejectione Operis Tripartiti, Epistolæ Leodiensium ad Paschalem Papam et Consilii delectorum Cardinalium, è voluminibus Conciliorum suæ editionis.

24. Opusculum Tripartitum.

25. Epistola Leodiensium ad Paschalem Papam.

26. Consilium delectorum Cardinalium.

27. Epistola Adriani Papæ ad Fridericum Imperatorem Barbarossam, et hujus ad illum.

28. Gravamina Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ.

Opuscula aliquot (hactenus inedita) Reverendi in Christo Patris Roberti Grostest Episcopi Lincolniensis, ante annos 450, viz.

29. Sermo propositus coram Papa Innocentio quarto et Cardinalibus. Lugduni, A. D. 1250.

30. Ejusdem Sermo ad Clerum, super Sapient. vi. 26. Rex sapiens stabilimentum est populi sui.

31. ——— Sermo alius ad Clerum, super S. Johan. x. 11. Ego sum pastor bonus. Monitio et persuasio pastorum.

32. ——— alius ad Clerum, contra pastores et prælatos malos, super Ezech. xxxiv. 2, 3, 4. Væ pastoribus Israel, qui pascebant semetipsos, etc.

33. ——— alius ad sacerdotes in Synodo; de hoc verbo, Posuit stellas in firmamento cœli. Gen. i. 17.

34. ——— alius in celebratione ordinum, de hoc verbo, Sint lumbi vestri præcincti. S. Luc xii. 35.

35. ——— alius de Bono Judice; super Psal. lvii. 1. Rectè judicate filii hominum.

36. Ejusdem Tractatus de prophetis veris et falsis.

37. ——— alius de gratia et justificatione.

38. ——— alius de fide et ejus articulis.

39. ——— alius de Oratione.

40. ——— alii de superbia, detractione, et humilitate, etc.

41. ——— Epistolæ aliquot nunc recens editæ; quibus subnectuntur literæ Innocentii IV. Pont. Rom. de promovendo quodam puero Italo in Canonicum Ecclesiæ Lincolniensis, et responsio Roberti Grostest: unà cum summâ Controversiæ hac de causâ inter utrumque ortæ, ex Matth. Paris aliisque antiquis historicis desumpta.

42. Gravamina Regni Angl. ex Matt. Paris.

43. Defensorium Venerabilis inceptoris Mri. Wilhemi Ockam contra Joannem XXII. Papam.

44. Defensorium Curatorum, contra mendicantes, a Richardo Archiep. Armachano. A. D. 1357.

45. Nic. Oremii Sermo coram Papa super Isai lvi. Juxta est salus mea. A. D. 1363.

46. Johannis de Rupescissa Prophetiæ, et ejusdem liber inscriptus (vade mecum).

47. Recommendatio Sacræ Scripturæ à Dom. Petro de Alliaco in Magisterio Theologiæ et alia ejusdem Opuscula.

48. Determinatio Universitatis Parisiensis in causa Schismatis A. D. 1395. cum binis epistolis memorab. et antiquis.

49. Nicolaus de Clamengiis de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu.

50. Poggii dialogus contra hypocrisin.
Cum Matth. de Cracovia.

51. Epistola 54 Nobilium Moraviæ ad Concilium Constant. in vindicationem Johannis Huss.

52. Literæ Capitaneorum Bohemiæ ad Reges, etc. contra Papatum.

53. Processus contra Dominum Henricum Beaufort Cardinalem, Episcop. Winton. pro legatione ejus contra consuetudines Regni Angl. A. D. 1428.

54. Bullæ papales adversus Bohemos et Instructio data Magistro Joh. Bold per Henr. Chichele, Archiep. Cantuar. pro materia Bohemorum.

55. Commissiones Henr. Chichele missæ Priori et Officiariis Cantuar. eadem causâ.

56. Instructiones datæ per Henricum Cardinalem prædicatoribus verbi Crucis contra Wicleffistas, cum aliquot aliis id genus.
Cum missâ Cruciatæ.

57. Epistola Cantabrigiensis cujusdam anonymi de misero Ecclesiæ statu circa, A. D. 1520.

58. Consilium trium Episcoporum Bononiæ congregatorum.

59. Gentiani Herveti oratio de Ecclesiasticorum disciplina restauranda.

60. Guil. Damasi Lindani Ruremund. Episcopi Epistola ad Principes et Prælatos Germaniæ de perditissimis Cleri moribus. A. D. 1566.

61. Epistola Clementis Septimi Pont. ad Carolum Quintum. A. D. 1525.

62. Epistola Caroli Quinti ad Clementem Septimum. A. D. 1526.

63. Epistola ejusdem ad Collegium Cardinalium

64. Epistola ejusdem ad idem, ut negante seu differente Pontifice Generalis Concilii indictionem, ipsi indicant, è Conringio.

65. Protestatio Caroli Quinti adversus Concilium Tridento Bononiam translatum. Ex eod.

66. Petitiones Oratorum Ferdinandi Cæsaris, legatis Pontificiis in Concilio Tridentino exhibitæ, de Reformatione. Ex eod.

67. Augustini Baumgartneri oratio, nomine Alberti Bavariæ Ducis, in Concilio Trident. Ex eod.

68. Georgii Wicelii via Regia: sive de Controversis Religionis capitibus conciliandis sententia, jussu Ferdinandi primi, Cæs. conscripta. Ex eod.

69. Ejusdem elenchus abusuum, corruptelarum, deformitatum, etc. in Ecclesia Romana, ad Imperatorem Romanum. Ex eod.

70. Ejusdem methodus Concordiæ Ecclesiasticæ, etc. cum catalogo authorum qui scripserunt contra squalores Ecclesiæ Romanæ, concinnato à Tho. James, Oxon.

71. Stephani Gardineri liber De Verâ Obedientia, cum Præfatione Boneri, omissâ à Goldasto.

72. Richardi Sampsoni, Decani Sacelli Regii (Episc. Lichfield et Coventr.) libellus de obedientia Regi præstanda.

73. Johannes Barnesii Catholico.—Romanus pacificus.

74. Franciscus Broccardus de Clementis Octavi fœdere inito contra Protestantes.

75. Modus solennis et authenticus ad inquirendum, et inveniendum, et convincendum Lutheranos, valde necessarius, per Sylvestrum Prieratem.

76. Excerpta quædam è Bernardo, Joh. Gersone, Joh. Sarisberiensi, Marsilio Patavino, Alvaro Pelagio, Theodorico de Niem, Fasciculo temporum, Abbate Urspergensi et Matt. Paris de corruptelis et avaritia Ecclesiæ Romanæ.

77. Officium Ordalii vetus integrum.

# AN ADDRESS

## DELIVERED AT THE FORMATION

OF THE

## CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE,

*On the 13th of May*, 1826.

ALTHOUGH I am but little qualified for making a formal address, and perhaps experience more difficulty in speaking to a select number of persons in a private room than I should to even a much more numerous and public auditory; yet upon the present occasion it will most probably be expected that I should make a few remarks, in explanation of my object and purpose, in thus convening you together.

It becomes me first to express my grateful acknowledgments to you, collectively and individually, for having so far honored me with your confidence, as to allow me to identify your names with a plan, which, however highly I may contemplate its future utility—and I beg to say my expectations with relation to the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE are bounded—in respect of space, by the limits of the universe alone; and in respect of time, by nothing short of eternity; and however highly I may appreciate its benefits in after ages—nevertheless exhibits, I admit, sufficient of novelty and peculiarity, to justify some degree of hesitation, as to its immediate and instantaneous reception.—And I feel that mark of respect the more powerfully, because I believe that, with almost a single exception, you were all, in the first instance, entirely ignorant with whom I proposed individually to associate you.

Under these circumstances, gentlemen, it is that we are met this day—this memorable day—and I humbly trust, and fervently pray, that the blessing of heaven may rest upon us; and that as our only object is to promote the cause of the Redeemer

and advance the standard of the Cross in all its genuine dignity and simplicity—He, who shed his most precious blood upon that cross, in order to rescue a lost and ruined world from the jaws of the devouring lion, will deign to look down upon us—to take us and our plans under his own immediate guidance—and to grant us the influence of his holy spirit, to superintend—to regulate—and to control our every object—our every purpose—our every movement.

Soon after it pleased God, in his dispensations of unbounded mercy, to bring me within the circle of religious connections; I felt much disturbed, and indeed perplexed, to comprehend how it was that pious characters of various denominations not only stood aloof from, but too frequently indulged in violent, if not in rancorous expressions against each other, and, at all events, seldom refrained from the coarse invective or the unfriendly taunt. It struck me forcibly that this should not be; and more especially as it was evident that the enemies of vital godliness made no small advantage of such violations of Christian charity.

I could not comprehend, and I cannot comprehend, how persons, who hesitate not to unite in the celebration of the most solemn ordinances of the Christian faith, with individuals concerning whose personal piety and acquaintance with saving faith, they neither entertain nor profess to entertain any good hope; whom they do not, in the utmost extent of Christian charity, expect or believe they shall meet in the mansions of bliss; yet, at the same time, shrink from a cordial and affectionate union with thousands, of whose piety and decided christianity they neither can or pretend to doubt, and in conjunction with whom, they will readily acknowledge they anticipate the realization of a blissful eternity.

The establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society in some measure relieved the dark shades of this melancholy picture. May God grant tha hemisphere may become more and more enlightened by the rays of divine love and Christian charity, and that every cloud and spot, raised up by the subtle enemy of all good, may be dispersed by the great Head of the Church.

Another Institution was founded upon the same basis, of which I shall upon the present occasion say no more, than that those who have attended the two last meetings of that society cannot have failed to remark, that the individuals who were most active in violating its fundamental principles, have pretty nearly read their public recantation.

Neither of these Societies, however, exhibit that which it is the object of the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE to embrace and accomplish; and perhaps the only instance where its imperfect lineaments have ever been expressed was in a local clerical meeting called "*The Bedford Union.*"

It was my happiness to be intimately acquainted with several of the Members of that Society, some of which are still living; but many of its original promoters have rested from their labours.

In that Society I have had the happiness, more than once, to witness an exhibition of Christian love—of cordial affection—and of sympathetic response—that I do not recollect to have ever experienced upon any other occasion or under any other circumstances. In the sequel I shall have occasion to recur again to this subject.

Many years have since then passed over my head, and during the last ten more especially my mind has, in a greater or less degree, been occupied in planning and preparing that Society, which I trust will this day receive its first formation—which I trust and firmly believe will, under the auspices of Heaven itself, increase more and more, until it shall present—probably long after the head of him who has planned and cemented it shall be laid low, and he shall have been summoned to render an account of his stewardship—an invincible barrier, an impenetrable phalanx, a front of adamant, against all the enemies of the Christian Faith.

A more minute acquaintance with ecclesiastical history in general, and especially with that portion of it which relates to the United Kingdom, led me distinctly to discover two facts, viz.

1st. That ever since the dawn of the Reformation arose in the benighted horizon of papal Christianity, the emissaries of the

papacy had bent their utmost exertions to foment and agitate divisions and jealousies amongst Protestants, and to perpetuate their disunion; and

2ndly. That the most holy and pious Protestants have uniformly lamented those divisions, and have anxiously anticipated the day when they should either cease, or be divested of all hostility and unchristian rivalry.

It would occupy too much time to examine minutely the first proposition, but still it would not be difficult to shew that a papal bull was actually issued, authorising the Romish priests to originate different sects, and promulgate different opinions and doctrines, on purpose to distract and divide, to harrass and perplex the early reformers.

And those who have paid any attention to these subjects will recollect, that, amongst a host of other writers, there is the respectable authority of Dr. Hammond on the one hand, and of Dr. Calamy on the other, that manœuvres of this description have been practised, even in our own country, during some of the most important periods of English history.

In the preface to the work from which a passage is quoted in the printed Prospectus you have all received, and in a collection of Tracts published many years ago by a dignified Clergyman of the Church of England, viz. Dr. Michael Geddes, formerly Dean of Salisbury, the same fact is at once distinctly asserted and deeply lamented.

The importance of union in matters of Christian faith is admitted and contended for by our greatest opponents; for is not the great charge which Papists bring against Protestants—*our multifarious divisions?* Divisions, however, I have already shewn, engendered and fomented by themselves. And the grand object which they present in the front of all their attacks upon Protestantism is, the necessity of union, and the actual existence of that union in their own community.

But of what avail is the boasted centre of Papal unity? It was declared by the great St. Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers, centuries before the Reformation took place, that there was no unity

or union at Rome—that new creeds were propagated and invented every day—and that schisms and factions sprung up with such rapidity, that it was impossible to know from one day to another what was the creed of any given community.

This evil did not decrease in the subsequent interval, except so far as fire and faggots restrained private opinion; and therefore, as some modern Spanish historians inform us, it was the boast of the adherents of Popery in that unhappy country, that fire and sword, or, to use the language of father La Chaise, confessor to Lewis the XIV., "your dragoons" or "booted Apostles" are the best cementers of the unity of the faith that can be imagined!

The unfounded pretensions of the professors of Popery to unity of faith are also conspicuously displayed by the venerable Fox, in his "Rablement of Religious Orders," and by our excellent Bishop Hall, in a tract called "The Peace of Rome," most strangely omitted by Mr. Pratt in his edition of that prelate's works.

But many Protestants have been as anxious to promote and to contend for the unity of the faith as the Papists. Whence all our statutes of uniformity? whence the directory for public worship in 1645, in the time of the long parliament, by the presbyterian divines?

Perhaps it will not be easy to exculpate any party, when placed in the seat of power, from the charge of cruelty and oppression, in order to secure this object; so desirable has it always appeared in the sight of all men. But in all these efforts, the authority of human laws and the power of the civil magistrate, were too often employed. Mens' consciences were therefore forced, the right of private judgment was violated, and, in many instances, the utmost cruelty and injustice were put in practice. The consequence, therefore, as might naturally be expected, was, that all these various attempts failed; and not only did divisions multiply, but dissentions grew wider and wider, and the enemy of God and man failed not to make use of an occurrence so favorable to his diabolical machinations.

Another plan was once attempted. A puritan divine, of the

name of Dury, was so impressed with the importance of Christian union, that it is said he occupied thirty years of his life in aiming to establish —what? No less than an *entire uniformity* of faith, discipline, and worship, throughout the whole Christian world! Not merely an union between Protestants, but of Romanists with Protestants. He travelled all over Europe, consulted with the divines of all countries and of all denominations, and was seconded and encouraged by some great and exemplary characters, amongst whom are enumerated the names of Bishop Hall, Bishop Bedell, Joseph Mede, the great Sir Robert Boyle, and at one time even *(mirabile dictu!)* of Archbishop Laud himself. But this plan also failed; nor can we wonder at it, for it was Utopian. It is not to be expected that all men should be of one mind—it is not necessary—perhaps, even, it was never the mind and will of Jehovah that they should be; for it has been well remarked, that the purity of the sacred text has been essentially preserved and insured by the constant jealousy and vigilance of the different sects of Christians over the integrity of the divine sources of their common faith.

It is not necessary. Episcopalians will recollect, that the great champion of the hierarchy, Bishop Tomline, has acknowledged that "there is no precept in the New Testament which commands that every church should be governed by Bishops, and that as it has not pleased our Almighty Father to prescribe any particular form of civil government for the security of temporal comforts to his rational creatures, so neither has he prescribed any particular form of ecclesiastical polity as absolutely necessary to the attainment of eternal happiness."

The Evangelical Clergy will recollect, that the pious and judicious Joseph Milner confesses that "he feels no surprise that controversies should have been started in a matter where something may be said for Episcopacy—something for Presbytery—and something for Independency; and that to him it seemed an unhappy prejudice to look on any one of the forms as of Divine Right or of Scriptural Authority."

The late Mr. Cecil also remarks, that "the appointment of the

New (Gospel) Dispensation had not that character of unaccommodating inflexibility which marked the institutions of the Old Dispensation. It has not limited Christianity to any one form of Church polity, ordained and perfected in all its parts by Divine Authority; but Christians are left to act herein according to circumstances, and to the exercise of sound discretion under those circumstances." And the reasons by which the venerable Hooker himself sustains his Ecclesiastical Polity, would make it as imperative upon a Christian to be a Presbyterian or a Congregationalist, where either of those forms of church government were established by the civil magistrate, as to be an Episcopalian where Episcopacy happens to possess that privilege.

Presbyterians will recollect, that Dr. George Campbell, a late learned principal of Marischal College at Aberdeen, has declared that "a church may subsist under different forms, as well as a state; that no form of church polity can plead such an exclusive charter as the phrase of *Jus Divinum* implies; that he had not found one, of all the different Christian sects which he had examined, which could be said perfectly to coincide with the model of the Apostolic Church; that we may say with freedom, that if a particular form of polity had been essential to the Church, it would have been laid down in another manner in the sacred books; that, for his own part, he acknowledged it to be his opinion, that there is not a church now in the world which is on the model of that formed by the Apostles; and that under whatever form of ecclesiastical polity a man lives, it will still hold an infallible truth, that if he *believe* and *obey* the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, he shall be saved."

Congregationalists will recollect, that their justly revered Dr. John Owen has said, "that he knew no church government in the world, already established, of the truth and necessity of which he was, in all particulars, convinced; and that it was his conviction, all national disputes about church government would prove fruitless tympanies."

The Wesleyan Methodist will recollect, that similar sentiments

have been expressed by a very eminent and highly talented Minister in their own communion, who declares it as his opinion that " a bigot for Independency or Presbyterianism, and a bigot for diocesan Episcopacy and Apostolical succession, stand upon nearly the same ground." And this able writer and Christian Divine sums up the argument by the following judicious remarks: " The array of so many wise and holy men on different sides of the question of ecclesiastical polity, whilst they were under a discussion to which nothing can now be added, ought by this time to have neutralized all parties. In the different circumstances of churches, much may be said for most of the various forms of government they have assumed; for the fact seems to be, that we have often mistaken what is a mere matter of prudential regulation, for divine prescription. Of what is prudent men judge variously; and the different circumstances of churches will often render a different constitution either necessary or more fitting. As to the various modes of church discipline among us in this country, 'whate'er is best administered is best' may be the true rule. The spirit of true Religion in churches is the principal thing; and as that prevails, it will regulate and sanctify every form; and, without altering it essentially, may render it 'good to the use of edifying.' So long as we are at liberty to adopt that which best comports with our own serious views, there seems little reason for controversy, and none certainly for contention."

And all good men will recollect, that, had the rest of the clergy followed the example and recommendation of those eminently learned and pious prelates, Archbishop Usher and Bishop Hall, it is more than probable, dissent would have been strangled in its birth.

I have already alluded to the *Bedford Union*, and it will be natural to inquire what became of that institution. Whether it is now in operation I do not know; I fear, at all events, it has but a languid existence; nor must that discourage us, for the Bedford Union, excellent as it was, contained some inherent seeds

of mortality, and which were very likely to accelerate its own dissolution.

The delicate question of preaching in the neighbouring villages formed one of its objects, and although care was taken to avoid offence as much as possible, yet it was hardly possible to avoid it; so that when some of its more early founders—men of a choice spirit—were called to their home, those who were left became lukewarm and indifferent, and the event has been what might have been anticipated.

All the rocks and shoals which have proved fatal to the plans and prospects hitherto attempted, have, I hope and trust, been avoided in the construction of the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE; and if any rugged stone should still have been left, we must unite our endeavours to remove it out of the way, or, if that is not practicable, to round and polish it, so that it may be rendered incapable of inflicting a serious wound.

I have already adduced the opinions of some able Divines as to the importance of the Union of Protestants.

In the sermon preached at the formation of the Bedford Union, before alluded to, are the following passages:—

"Such an union among real Christians as is consistent with the freedom of private judgment and fulfilment of the dictates of conscience, is warranted and required by the word of God."—"The first Christian churches were united. They corresponded, sympathised, and co-operated together. Can we, till we are united, expect to be clothed with vigour and beauty, and animated by the Spirit of God?"—"What would be the condition of our churches if the members of them were no more united together than the churches themselves are to one another, as members of the general body of Christ? What might we not hope for, as to mutual benefit and general usefulness, from a spiritual, cordial, and active union of all real Christians?"—"What are the points of difference between real Christians compared with the greatness of those objects in which we all agree?"—"We aim at union, not uniformity; we wish to excite your zeal, not to alter your opinions; we long to promote

your love to all fellow Christians, not to lessen your attachment to those with whom you are immediately connected."—"How are men of the world to believe in the divine mission of our Saviour? They believe it not: they blaspheme the name of Jesus; and they themselves assign, as a reason for their unbelief, that Christians are divided and opposed amongst themselves." Alluding to the early ages of Christianity, the preacher remarks, "Whilst Christians had maintained a spiritual and effectual union, the Gospel triumphed over all opposition from the most powerful empire."

Referring to the æra of the reformation, "small differences of judgment disunited the reformers, who agreed in doctrines of the first magnitude, they split into sects and Rome rejoiced, they persecuted one another and she triumphed."

Further, "let us make known to distant brethren, the concern we feel for the universal union of the church of Christ, and the measures we are taking towards its restoration amongst ourselves. Many variously denominated, and remotely situated, are longing for such an union; thousands and myriads may in secret, be sighing and praying for its accomplishment."

"There is no need to search for precedents; an union of christians, as such, is grounded—upon the nature of christianity,—upon the authority of Jesus Christ,—upon his atoning sacrifice and renewing spirit,—upon the example of his apostles and of the primitive churches,—upon the promises and the prophecies of his word. It must take place on earth, it shall endure throughout time, it will be perfected in everlasting glory."

"Can we be unaffected by the rapid spread of infidelity? Is it a time for them, who know that the gospel is from God, to slight and shun each other for small differences, when the common enemy is striking at the very root of christianity?"

"I consider the distance that is so assiduously promoted between different parties of christians, especially between the pious people within, and those without the pale of the religious establishment of this nation, as a master device of Satan. Let us not pride ourselves therefore in distinctions, which shall soon

be removed, but think it our honor to constitute an union that shall never be dissolved."

And when I state, that the sentiments which I have just read, were those of the late eminent Samuel Greatheed: those, who have any knowledge of that individual's character, will think they are entitled to some weight; even if it should be possible for them not to be impressed by the intrinsic character of the sentiments themselves.

But we have yet two other witnesses, in favor of our object, who were anxiously alive to the importance of some such measure more than sixty years ago.

Hear the venerable John Wesley in a circular which he sent to several pious ministers in the established church.

"Ought not those who are united to one common head, and employed by him in one common work, to be united to each other? what union do we desire? not an union in opinions, not an union in expressions, not an union with regard to outward order, but an agreement in these essentials,

I. Original Sin.
II. Justification by Faith.
III. Holiness of Heart and Life.

"But it will never be, it is utterly impossible;—certainly it is with men, who imagines we can do this? that it can be effected by any human power? all nature is against it, every infirmity, every wrong temper and passion, love of honor and praise, of power, of pre-eminence; or anger, resentment, pride, long contracted habit and prejudice lurking in ten thousand forms, —the Devil and all his angels, are against it,—for if this takes place how shall his Kingdom stand?"

"But, surely, with God all things are possible. Therefore, all things are possible to him that believeth, and this union is proposed only to them that believe, that shew their faith by their works."

Hear the affectionate response of the Rev. Vincent Perronet, one of the clergymen to whom the above circular was addressed. "It has always been a leading principle with me (and I pray

God to confirm and strengthen it more and more) to love all those labourers of Christ, who give proof, by their diligence, their holy and heavenly behaviour, that they love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; even though their sentiments, in many things, should differ from mine. And, therefore, though it be absurd to expect an entire union of sentiments in all things, yet, the endeavouring, by every christian method to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace is the indispensable duty of all christians. Where this spiritual peace and union are not, there faith working by love is not. And where this divine faith is wanting, there Christ is wanting; there his spirit is wanting: and then, neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision will avail us any thing."

I have shewn that the division of Protestants has always been the grand aim of Papists. Was there ever a period when more was to be apprehended from their machinations than now? I know good men differ upon the political question, with which we in the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE have nothing to do. I know that good men differ as to the most likely and most scriptural method of pulling down the strong holds of this superstition, and of abating its influence upon the mind of man: but I believe we are all agreed, that her errors should be combated, by all scriptural means, by fair reason, and legitimate appeals to sound argument, and the scriptures of truth. I am persuaded we shall also agree, that it is of the utmost importance that we should be united, as far as possible, amongst ourselves, so that if a blow should come, if an attack should be made upon our common christianity from that quarter, as some of us fully anticipate, as others perhaps hardly or very remotely contemplate, we may, at all events, be prepared to receive such an attack in the best possible attitude.

If a town were in a state of siege, some of the inhabitants might, perhaps, anticipate a nightly attack; whilst others, possessing less information, or not having observed the motions of the besiegers with equal attention, might be of opinion no such attack was in contemplation. But, surely, no individual would be found, if a faithful and loyal citizen, who would, for a moment, hesitate to assist in making every possible preparation to guard

the posterns, to mount the ramparts, to plant the guns, and to see that every centinel was at his proper post.

But, Sirs, our common christianity has other enemies besides the papists, enemies, who, if not more venomous and malicious, are become more subtle and active than formerly, the apostles of infidelity in general; enemies, who, if not consciously actuated, equally with the papists, by a desire to spread disunion and discord amongst protestants, are, nevertheless, under the guidance of the grand enemy himself, and operate the same object, whilst he wields them as his willing instruments, themselves being alike the victims and seducers.

The character of this division of the host of Apollyon is so powerfully delineated by Mr. Greatheed, that, largely as I have already quoted from his sermon, I cannot avoid trespassing a few minutes longer on your patience. "We have not, now, to oppose a few speculative pretenders to philosophy. Infidelity has assumed a popular address. It makes its appeal to the common feelings of mankind; debased by ignorance, and oppressed by want. No longer concealed from general notice by the flimsy veil of scepticism, unbelief now displays its unbashful forehead, and, in open day, accosts all who pass by. No more, as formerly, secluded in the recesses of literary profligates, nor limited to the precincts of ambitious courts, infidelity now, like death, bursts open the cottage door as well as the palace gate.

*Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,*
*Regumque turres.*

It spreads in the lower ranks, and the more ignorant and immoral of our hearers, have now learned to deride the inspiration of the Scriptures, and to stigmatize the Gospel as priestcraft."

There is yet another class of persons, viz. all those, by whatever shades or varieties distinguished, who deny either the Divinity of our Lord, or the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Spirit.

Now all these classes are, more or less, actively assailing the grand fortress of the christian faith.

Notwithstanding the many causes there are for pleasing anticipations, notwithstanding the certainty, which every well grounded christian feels in his own bosom, of the final result; if we take reason for our guide, if we take observation for our guide, if we take past experience for our guide, if we take the Holy Scriptures for our guide, the certainty that a great battle is to be fought is as clear as demonstration can make it.

All who hear me will agree, that, although the providence of God watches alike over the good and the evil, yet, in point of fact, God has nothing to do with the world, except so far as his Church is concerned, and that, whenever the last vessel of mercy is ripened for glory, in that very moment swift destruction will go forth from the presence of the Lord, and sweep from the face of the earth all that do wickedly and forget God, viz. all those that are left.

The voice of prophecy, however cautiously expounded, assures us that a great contest must and will take place, and the complexion of the times, and every day's observation, not only confirm the prophetical declaration of Holy Writ, but pretty distinctly indicate that contest is approaching with rapid strides.

The whole universe, therefore, never did and never can comprise more than two grand parties, those who love and fear the Saviour, and those who reject his sceptre and despise his rod.

Now we are quite certain, that those who reject the sceptre of the Redeemer will unite and support each other in their opposition to his saints. Has it not always been so? It may be that their union is neither apparent to others or to themselves, for they may be, and frequently are, abhorrent from each other. But we know in whose hands all these are mere instruments. The Fiend of darkness is the grand agent, the great master puppet. So that, whether the squadrons of darkness advance, from the caves of Elephanta, from the tomb of Mahomet, from the dungeons of the Inquisition, or from the groves of Ferney; each division of the great antichristian army will aim at the same object, the invariable and unchangeable object of their fell conductor, the everlasting ruin and misery of the soul of man.

Well then, my friends, if such be the contest in which the disciples of the Redeemer will have to engage, if such be the certainty of that contest, ought not their operations to be combined? Should they not present to their formidable adversaries a firm and impenetrable phalanx? Ought they not,—conscious that truth is on their side; and that, although they may be called to fight this great battle in separate divisions, distributed into squadrons and companies of different arms suited to the various duties of the field; arranged too, it may be, under bannars of different hues, and bearing the armorial distinctions of various chieftains, they still constitute but one grand army;—gladly to rally round one and the same royal standard, and chearfully obey one and the same great Captain of their Salvation?

If then, my friends, you are sure that in the great struggle which must sooner or later take place, the enemies of God, will become more and more united, or rather, their great instigator will form them into closer and more compact legions; and that they will continue to increase, until God disperses them to the winds by the breath of his mouth;—does not common sense suggest, that the friends of the Saviour should join together heart and hand?

But are we not called to this union by a much higher sanction? Is not "the love of the brethren," declared by an apostle, to be a decisive test of having ourselves passed from death unto life? And who I pray are the brethren? Are they not all the members of the church militant here below, and those who will be the members of the church triumphant above? viz. "All them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

These remarks have extended themselves so much beyond what I anticipated, that I can say but little upon the plans and objects of the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE; nor do I think it necessary: they are sufficiently explained in the printed prospectus.

The collection of an appropriate library of scarce and valuable books,* of those especially which are escaping from our re-

* And here I must bring under your consideration a circumstance of no trifling moment. The Papists have actually anticipated us; for since this Address was prepared, it has been announced in the public prints

searches—the re-publication of those which may be most valuable—the purchase and dispersion of new works which require encouragement, and which do not fall within the scope and design of our Tract Societies—the bestowment of useful works and small libraries upon pious ministers who are unable to purchase them—the support of religious truth wherever assailed—the dispersion of the doctrines of the Reformation, through the medium of a periodical Journal,—and, in one word, the adoption of whatever scriptural means of propagating the cause of the Redeemer the times and circumstances may render necessary.

It is our object that the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE should become the grand centre of religious truth for the whole world; where Christians of every name and denomination, holding the fundamentals of the Gospel, may meet as friends and brothers. Then may we hope to see realized the scene pourtrayed with such inimitable beauty by the Psalmist:

> How pleasant is the scene, how sweet,
> When kindred souls in friendship join;
> Whose joys and cares united meet
> In bands of amity divine.
>
> Not flow'ry Hermon e'er display'd,
> Impearl'd with dew, a fairer sight;
> Nor Sion's beauteous hills, array'd
> In golden beams of morning light.

Then may the enemies of the Cross once more be constrained to exclaim, "See how these Christians love one another."

Then too shall we be prepared to adopt the prayer of the pious Bogatsky:—"O Lord, unite us all in hearty fellowship and tender feelings for each other; and stop all open and subtle divisions, which are fermented by lofty spirits, who always boast of mighty things, and to be wise above the rest. Suffer not a self-conceited and a party spirit, which is the spirit of the world, to influence the members of thy body; but bless and grace them all with true humility; then we shall live in a solid union and uninterrupted harmony."

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that they are about to establish a library for the maintenance and diffusion of their principles; thus demonstrating that they at least are mustering their forces, and arranging their plans against the day of conflict.

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